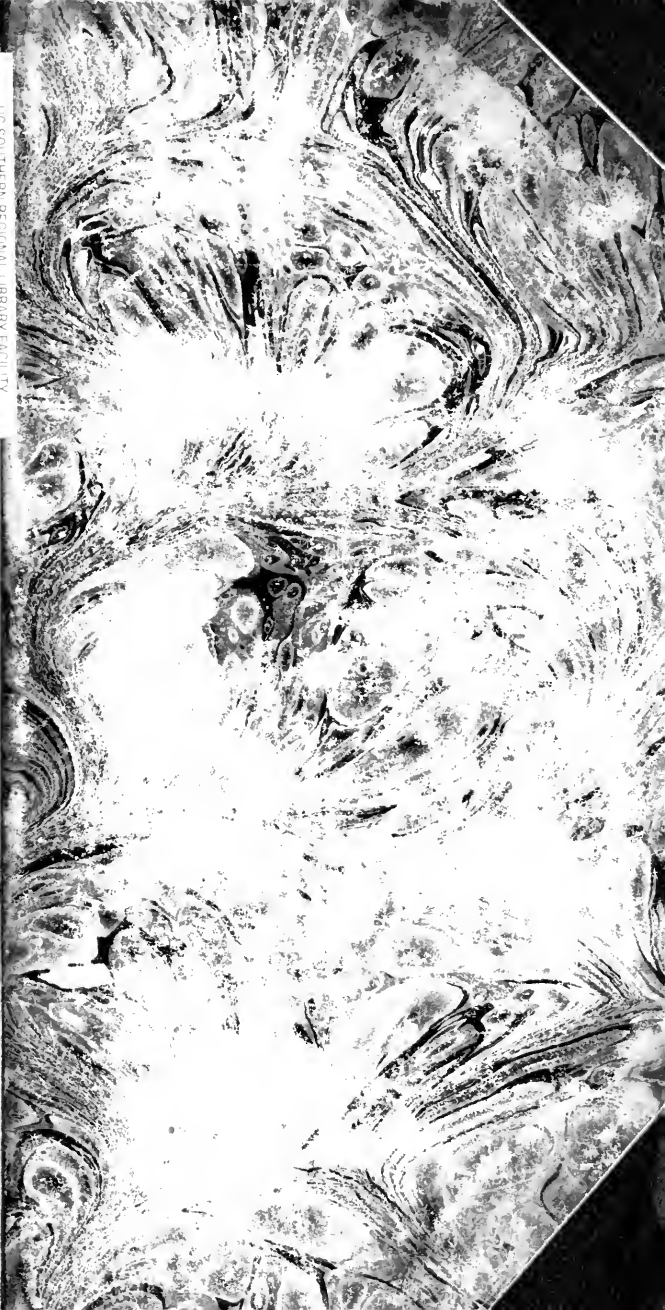


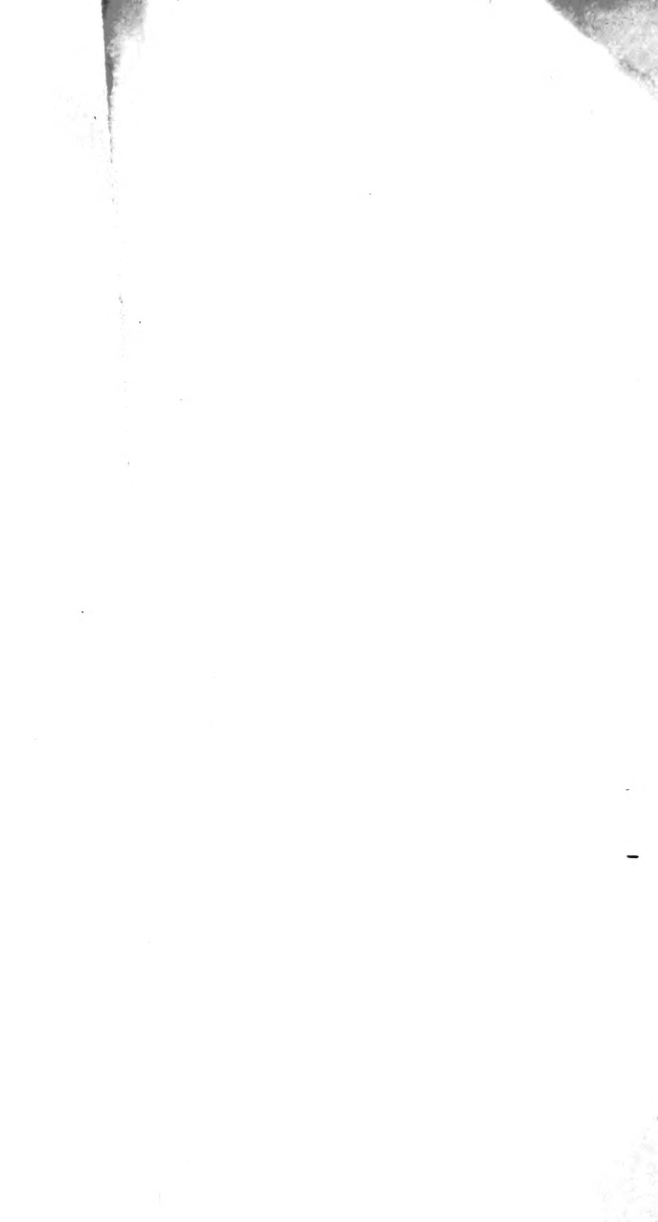
UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



AA0001686724



1901  
TER







Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2007 with funding from  
Microsoft Corporation



Van-der-Elst, William, Leiden.  
" THE  
LIFE  
OF  
NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE,

CONTAINING  
EVERY AUTHENTIC PARTICULAR

*By which his extraordinary Character has been formed.*

WITH A CONCISE

HISTORY OF THE EVENTS

THAT HAVE OCCASIONED

HIS UNPARALLELED ELEVATION,

AND A

PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW

OF HIS MANNERS AND POLICY AS

A Soldier, a Statesman, and a Sovereign,

INCLUDING

*Memoirs and Original Anecdotes*

OF

THE IMPERIAL FAMILY,

AND THE

MOST CELEBRATED CHARACTERS THAT HAVE  
APPEARED IN FRANCE

DURING THE REVOLUTION.

~~~~~  
VOL. II.  
~~~~~

*Illustrated with numerous Portraits.*

---

LONDON:

Printed by W. Day, 13, Goswell-Street,  
FOR M. JONES, No. 5, NEWGATE STREET.



# L I F E

OF

## NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

---

### CHAPTER I.

*Military Ambition.—Buonaparté is arrested, and loses his Command.—Anecdote of his Industry—Refuses a Command in the Infantry.—Commands an unsuccessful Expedition against Ajaccio.—Buonaparté in London.—He sinks into obscurity.—The Sections at Paris dislike some Parts of the new Constitution.—Disturbances arise, and the Convention declared their Sitzings permanent.—Troops enter Paris; and Menou temporising with the armed Citizens, loses the chief Command, which is given to Barras.—He appoints Buonaparté Second in Command.—The 13th of Vendemiaire.—Horrible Slaughter of the Parisians by the Conventional Troops under Barras and Buonaparté.—Motives which induced the Citizens to arm.—Barras's Approbation of Buonaparté—The Convention dissolved.—A Summary of the Events which occurred during its Sitzings.*

**A** PASSION for military glory is inseparable from great military talents: he, whose capacity and personal services have imminently assisted in successfully terminating an exploit of great magnitude, or danger, will court an opportunity of procuring fur-

ther fame: he will eagerly seek in other fields for other laurels; and should he even be disappointed in a fresh adventure, this, with the remembrance of former good fortune, will stimulate him to more vigorous exertions: his ardour will be tempered by caution, and a determined perseverance will ensure ultimate prosperity to his pursuits. Experience will counsel the wise in their career; and though they may reject the suggestions of timidity, they will not refuse to be guided by prudence.

The young General, Buonaparté, after the siege of Toulon, in which his achievements were so conspicuous, and where he obtained the rank of General, was sent to Nice, but was arrested there by Belfroi, the deputy, who previously displaced him from his command. He was charged with being a Terrorist, and with his conduct after the siege of Toulon having been sanguinary towards the persecuted inhabitants: he was soon released, but he lost his command in the artillery, although he was not discharged the service; he was offered a command in the infantry, but refused to accept it.

During his stay at Nice the events of the war offered materials of great value, to a mind so imbued with military enthusiasm: he was almost constantly employed, and spent many hours of the night in study. One of his friends, on a very particular occasion, went to his apartments, long before day, and not doubting but he was in bed, knocked softly at the door, for fear of disturbing him too abruptly; but upon entering his chamber, he was surprised to find Buonaparté dressed, as in the day, with plans, maps, and numerous books lying around him. "What," said his friend, "not yet in bed?"—

“In bed,” answered Buonaparté, “I am already risen.”—“Indeed,” observed the other, “what so early?”—“Yes, so early; two or three hours are enough for sleep.”

Soon after he was free from arrest he hastened to Paris to lodge his complaints. Aubry, the representative, who was then at the head of the military department of the Committee of Public Safety, refused him any thing more than the commission in the infantry he had been before offered. Buonaparté demanded his discharge, which was refused: he then asked permission to retire to Constantinople, in all probability with a view of serving in the Turkish army, but this was also refused.

He obtained, however, in the year 1794, the command of an expedition fitted out against Ajaccio, his native town, in the island of Corsica: he was repulsed, however, in the attempt, by one of his own relations, named Masteria, who was at that time in the British service, and had served under General Elliot, at the siege of Gibraltar. The object of the expedition was defeated, and it returned to France.

Buenaparté has been frequently said to have been in England to solicit Government for a commission in the British army; the observation has been denied, as often perhaps, as it has been made; and no authority having been mentioned to support the truth of the fact of his having been in England at all, has, at length, been entirely disbelieved. We can, however, declare, that Buonaparté *was* in England, but the object of his appearance here is not known. He lodged at a house in the Adelphi in the Strand, and

remained in London but a short time. This information was obtained from General Miranda, personally, who says he visited him in England at the time. We therefore give the fact from that General's statement, which he made on the enquiry being put to him, during the last time he was in this country, before his expedition to South America: it is probable, that the period when Buonaparté was here, was about the middle of the year 1793; for the Convention, suspecting him, whilst he held a command in Corsica, of tampering, with others to surrender the island to the English, the Deputies Le Courbe, St. Michael, and two others, ordered his arrest: he left the army in consequence, and perhaps he came to England immediately, and departed time enough to be present at the siege of Toulon.

After Buonaparté had been displaced from the artillery, and after his ill success before Ajaccio, he remained in great obscurity, and was subject to considerable pecuniary embarrassment: his friends were not numerous, and he was from time to time indebted for five or six livres to M. Guérin, a merchant at Marseilles; but the assistance he received from others was even more trifling than this. His prospects were dimmed by adversity, and he had no certain expectation of either employment or support, when, towards the latter end of the year 1795, the following public occurrences favoured his hopes of being again called into action.

Whilst the 48 sections of Paris appeared cordial and unanimous in their acceptance of the new constitution, 46 of them vehemently rejected the decree, that two-thirds of the members composing the Gou-



vention, should be re-elected for the new legislature; and also the decree which declared that if the departments would not re-elect two thirds, the Convention would become an elective body, and supply the deficiency by its own nomination. These two obnoxious laws were denominated the laws of the 5th and 13th Fructider, (22d and 30th August), and were sent into the departments with the constitutional act. No language can do justice to the scene of horror and tumult which prevailed in Paris. The protest against the law of a forced election gave rise to the warmest and most animated debates, and the independent spirit of the Parisians was imitated by many of the departments.

The people at Paris did not pursue a determined method of obtaining redress. A manly and dignified mode of opposition in the majority of a great nation, expressed with firmness, must have been victorious. The primary assemblies hurried themselves into ruin by precipitation, which is always an enemy to victory.

During these transactions, the primary assemblies of almost every department of the Republic, signified their acceptance of the constitution, the decrees being reprobated by some, and approved by others. This afforded an opportunity to the Convention to declare each day that the majority of each department was in favour of the decrees; a fact disputed by the sections; who, having applied for leave to inspect the records, affirmed, that the majority, if their voice was fairly and unequivocally ascertained, would be entirely in favour of a new legislature; because they could discover, that where a whole primary assembly had been unanimous for repealing the decrees, it was marked by the Convention as a single

vote, notwithstanding some of them consisted of 1,500 or 2,000 persons. But such was the heated spirit of both parties upon this occasion, that the simple truth did not meet the views of either. The Convention received the deputations from the primary assemblies with haughtiness and contempt, and frequently denied them admittance altogether.

The language in which the deliberations of the sections were clothed, and the schemes they appeared determined to adopt, induced the Convention to claim the protection of a military force from the different committees of government. The idea that no soldier would draw his trigger or his sword against the life or rights of a fellow citizen, made the people of Paris pay little or no attention to the military preparations of the legislature. Means more efficacious than either petition or remonstrance were declared to be absolutely necessary to bring the Convention within the limits of reason and justice, and they were represented as a body of tyrants and assassins, purged, indeed, of the most infamous monsters, yet still containing the murderers of the 2d of September, the conspirators of the 31st of May, the applauders of the assassination of the Gironde, the faithful associates of the Mountain chiefs, and the remaining actors in the decemviral tyranny. It was even represented that if they were allowed to exist, it would originate from the indulgence or contempt of their fellow citizens, who might be disposed either to pardon their crimes, or excuse their cowardice; but that the presumption and tyranny of considering themselves as the only proper guardians of the Republic, creating an universal indignation they should

be hurried from their seats as the most lenient punishment the nation could inflict.

This language, when contrasted with the diction of some of their associates, was moderate. The law of retaliation was violently supported; the re-establishment of revolutionary tribunals was warmly recommended; and it was proposed that every deputy should undergo a trial, and no other evidence be required against him than his public conduct. If convicted of cowardice, he was to be despised as a person unworthy of public confidence; and if found to have committed crimes against the state, he was to pay for his crimes with his head.

As the language of the sections grew bolder, the Convention seemed more determined, and refused to admit any deputation from the people to their sittings. On the 26th of September, they decreed that those presidents and secretaries of the primary assemblies who should put to the vote, or sign any resolution foreign to the object of their convocation, would be guilty of an attack upon the safety of the Republic: this decree was wholly disregarded. On the 3d of October it was decreed, that the primary assemblies of Paris, which had appointed them electors, should be commanded to separate instantly, and that the electors should be forbidden to assemble before the period fixed by the decree. The sections had passed several arrests; these were annulled, and the commanders of the armed force were directed not to obey them. The Convention declared itself in a state of permanence, and affairs appeared to be fast approaching to a crisis.

At seven o'clock in the evening, Etienne Dupin,

secretary of the department of the Sein, appeared with six dragoons, and two trumpeters, on the Place du Theatre Francois, to proclaim the decree, and, whilst reading, a numerous crowd rushing from the theatre, encreased the crowd without, and hissings and hootings interrupted the entire announcement of the decree; one of the heralds was assaulted, and the flambeau he held, by the light of which the decree was being read, was extinguished. The Convention ordered the deputies, charged with the direction of the armed force, to secure the electors assembled in the place of meeting of the primary assembly of the theatre Francois, who had refused to obey the law which ordered the closing of the assemblies. The electoral body however, did not wait for the decree of the Convention to seperate; for when the troops arrived, they found the place of meeting empty.

On Sunday the 4th of October, the Convention issued a proclamation, which began by stating, that "after having exhausted all paternal means, they were resolved to put an end to the scandalous struggle, which had taken place between the general will of the people and a handful of Royalists."—"Friends to the laws! defenders of liberty!" it concluded, "listen to the voice of duty, and as soon as the cry of "Aid to the law!" shall be heard, hasten to join the banners of virtue; at sight of you the conspirators will fly, and soon will peace and happiness be raised upon the ruins of faction."

During those commotions the Convention continued to order troops into the metropolis, and they mingled with them several hundreds of the terrorists who had been confined in prison, from their well

known and mortal antipathy against the sections. These men, though by no means well affected towards the Convention, were glad to purchase their freedom, for the opportunity of exterminating the people they denominated *Muscadins* and Royalists. Such a guard was vehemently exclaimed against by the different sections. They conceived it to be a signal for the return of such a government as that of Robespierre, and the establishment of revolutionary tyranny. On the 4th of October General Menou, who commanded the military force at Paris, was dispatched to the principal place where the sections met, which was Lepelletier, in order to effect their dispersion, or deprive them of their arms. The Deputy who had been chosen to visit the sections and General Menou, held long conferences with them, when they declared that they would cheerfully lay down their arms, if the Convention would disarm the terrorists; but, as they had no authority to come to any terms with the sections, the troops, for the present, were withdrawn on both sides, which gave the greatest offence to the Convention, and for which General Menou was deprived of his command.

The Deputy Barras, who had been charged with the direction of the armed force, was appointed in his room, and he resolved to avail himself of the assistance of a general in whom he could confide; who then could be better qualified than Napoleon Buonaparté, who had served at Toulon with such success, as to fully ratify that opinion he entertained of his talents, which had induced him to appoint him a general: there was no time, nor was there any reason, for hesitation; he sent immediately for Buonaparté, and immediately gave him the second

command of the Conventional troops then in Paris.

In the mean time the sections beat to arms, and appeared every moment more serious in their military preparations. The inhabitants were awakened at midnight by the sound of drums, and a knocking at almost every door, accompanied with the incessant cry of "*To arms, to arms citizens! every one to his section—liberty or death.*" This did not produce any material effect, as the people in general did not suppose that the intended assault was to be made at night. About noon, however, the next day, the celebrated 13th of Vendemiaire (5th October), the people were again in motion, with a view to march their forces against the Thuilleries.

The troops of the Convention extended from the Pont Neuf, along the quays on the right bank of the Seine, to the Champs Elysées, and were continued to The Boulevards: the people occupied the Rue St. Honoré, the Place de Vendôme, St. Roch, and the Place du Palais Royal. The Convention had deceived the people, during the morning, in sending messages to the sections, and in receiving and discussing reinforcing their positions and manœuvring the propositions for peace, whilst they gained time for troops to fire upon the people when commanded. The debates in the Convention, and messages and letters to General Danican, who commanded the troops of the Parisians, kept the people discussing instead of fighting; and, to their great astonishment the post of the citizens at St. Roch was suddenly fired upon from a house in the Cul de Sac Dauphin and a dreadful scene of carnage commenced.

During the time that the citizens on the Northern

side of the river were engaged in close and terrible combat, those who were on the opposite were attempting to reach the Convention by the quay of Voltaire, although the cannon of the Convention, which defended each end of the bridge, presented to their view a most menacing appearance. The conflict on the one side of the river was not of long duration: for the commander of the column having endeavoured to force the passage, even without artillery, and but ill provided with ammunition, a discharge of musketry was made, which instantly dispersed his followers: the artillery was commanded by Buonaparté. The battle near the Thuilleries, where the Convention was sitting, raged with great obstinacy, the cannon having been frequently seized upon by the insurgents, and as often retaken by the national troops. Though the sectionaries were destitute of artillery, they made a gallant opposition, and, after many severe repulses, they still returned to the charge, and did not retreat till after a bloody conflict, which lasted four hours. In the space of two hours the firing of the cannon was heard again, which did not terminate till midnight, when the troops of the Convention became masters of the field of battle and routed the citizens at every post. The church of St. Roch, and the Palais d'Egalité, were forced: the gates were burst open by the cannon, and the people who had taken refuge within the walls, were slaughtered. During the conflict the few deputies who were in the Convention, remained in their places, with their president at their head. Many of the other deputies mixed with the troops who were without. The number of the people slain on this memorable day, has been stated to have been 8,000.

The opposition of the sections originated from the indignation which the people of France felt at the idea of men illegally usurping a power, which they had, in their opinion, proved themselves unworthy of retaining, by giving their sanction to a system of tyranny, which they ought to have opposed at the hazard of their lives. It was incompatible with the spirit of a free representation to talk of re-electing themselves. Upon the principle on which they had done so for two years, they might continue for life, and thus establish a system of tyranny infinitely more odious than even absolute monarchy. The people felt the ignominy, and suffered the calamities resulting from their dastardly submission to the Mountain party on the 31st of May, 1793. When relieved from the tyranny of Robespierre they had made frequent and solemn asseverations to live free or perish; and, consequently, when they beheld the Convention ready to act a new scene of tyranny, they determined to oppose every infringement of their rights to the last extremity. The sections had a good cause; but they, unfortunately, adopted a method for the attainment of their object which is seldom crowned with success. They had been made aware of the danger of procrastination by the promptitude of their former tyrants, and they now, unfortunately, were too premature in exerting themselves before they had concentrated their means and their resources. Military commissions were instituted; many of the leaders of the sections were tried, condemned, and executed; and those who were absent were outlawed. This insurrection was confined to Paris and its vicinity; for some of the communes had their arms forcibly taken from them while on their march to give assistance to the



sections. The next business of the Convention was, to declare that the laws of the 5th and 13th<sup>e</sup> Fructidor, had a great majority of the nation in their favour; an assertion which may very reasonably be doubted since they were often blended with the constitutional code, and, as a part of it, ignorantly received, even while their spirit and intention gave the highest disgust.

Barras, on this occasion, having had the chief command, received all the honours and all the credit that the Convention attached to the services of the day. The distinguished share that Buonaparté had in the affair, was extinguished by the superior pretension of his superior. The unpopularity of the measure, was not by any means likely to endear him to the Parisians: but he acquired notice, and Barras became, at length, so well satisfied with his conduct that he took an early opportunity of rewarding his important achievement on the ever to be remembered day of Vendémiaire.

About this period a commission, of five members, was nominated for the purpose of considering the most effectual means to be adopted for saving the the country; and as in time past, this has been a party phrase, or almost a watch ward for carrying into effect some revolutionary measure, it gave on that account, a considerable degree of alarm. The Convention, it is true, were now prepared, either from principle or timidity, to adopt any measure that might be proposed by the Jacobins; but Thibeaudeau declared, with undaunted fortitude, that he would much rather perish, than submit to the establishment of such a tyranny as had been happily subverted. He insisted that the commission of Five should be immedi-

ately abolished, which he compared to the infernal *star chamber* of England; and that nothing but the constitution should be the law of the land on the day nominated by the people. He was ably and warmly seconded by La Reveillere Lepaux, and the affair dropped. The report given in by the commission, which recommended the sitting of the Convention to be made permanent was annulled; and, on the day appointed by the law, the 27th October, the president declared that the National Convention was dissolved.

The sitting of this Convention continued 37 months and four days: they signed the death warrant of the successor of an hundred kings, and, in one day, broke the sceptre, for which an existence of fourteen centuries had procured almost a religious veneration: they converted France into an armed nation, which sent a million and a half of men into the field to repel its enemies, and who defeated the combination of all the great powers of the continent, and subdued Holland. This convention enacted eleven thousand two hundred and ten laws, and, during its continuance, three hundred and sixty conspiracies, and one hundred and forty insurrections were denounced, and eighteen thousand six hundred and thirteen persons put to death by the guillotine. The civil war at Lyons cost thirty-one thousand two hundred men, and that at Marseilles seven hundred and twenty nine. At Toulon fourteen thousand three hundred and twenty-five lives were destroyed; and in the South, after the fall of Robespierre, seven hundred and fifty individuals perished. The war in La Vendee caused the destruction of nine hundred thousand men, and more than twenty thousand dwellings. Four thousand seven hundred and ninety persons committed suicide, through

terror of the dreadful enormities, the massacres, and the legal cruelties, that were committed; and three thousand four hundred women died of premature deliveries, from the same cause; twenty thousand human beings died of famine, and one thousand five hundred and fifty were driven to incurable insanity. In the colonies one hundred and twenty-four thousand white men, women, and children, and sixty thousand people of colour were massacred, and two towns and three thousand two hundred habitations burnt. The loss of men by the war alone, is estimated at upwards of eight hundred thousand, and one hundred and twenty-three thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine Emigrants, were for ever excluded from entering France. These were the events that occurred during the existence of that Convention, which, when its power over property and existence was departing from it, ended its sittings, by decreeing, that the punishment of death should be abolished at the termination of the war!



## CHAPTER II.

*Appointment of the French Executive Directory.—Visit of Buonaparté to Carnot.—Buonaparté appointed to Command the Army of the Interior.—Expedition to Quiberon.—Luxemburgh surrenders to the French.—They take Dusseldorff and Manheim.—The Austrians compel the French to retreat, and retake Manheim.—Cessation of Hostilities between France and Austria.—Great Britain declares War against Holland.—The British take the Dutch East India Settlements, and the Cape of Good Hope.—Insurrections in the British West-India Islands.—War with the Maroons.—The French take a Number of English Merchantmen.—Stofflet and Charette taken and shot.*

THE Convention terminated its sittings, by resolving itself into an electoral body, to complete the members deficient in the Council of Five Hundred, agreeable to the constitutional decree. On the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of Ancients being formed, they retired to their respective halls. On the 29th of October, the Council of Ancients appointed Larevelliere Lepaux, their president; and the Council of Five Hundred elected Danou for their president. On the 31st a list of 50 names was presented to the Council of Ancients, from whom they proceeded to elect an Executive Directory of five persons, and Lepaux, Letourneur, Rewbel, Sieyes, and Barras, were declared duly elected. Sieyes declined accepting the office, and the council chose Carnot in his room.

The palace of the Luxembourg was appointed to

be the residence of the Executive Directory, and was to take the name of the Palace of the Directory. The costume of the Directors was very magnificent; the constitution ordained that they should wear it whenever they gave audience: the legislative authorities were also habited in their halls in very showy dresses. The splendid appearance which the new government assumed, was intended to inspire the people with veneration and respect: the constitution of the Republic, seemed by this attention to parade, to anticipate the probability, that the multitude would not otherwise honour their rulers. The sternness of the Republicans was visible, through their trappings; if their other virtues were not seen, it was not because they were concealed by the robes of office. Some few, however, amid the gaudy constellation, shone out with pure and undiminished lustre.

The reason assigned for choosing *terrorists* to constitute the Executive Power, in opposition to men of more rational principles and moderate views, was that nothing less could prevent the Royal party from becoming ultimately victorious—that the moment called aloud for ardent spirits and violent measures—for men to act in that public capacity, who would stand more in need of a curb than a stimulus. No danger, it was contended, could spring from the nomination of Jacobins to offices of public trust, since the odium poured upon them by the people was almost universal; and, therefore, if they should ever presume to proceed beyond proper bounds, the nation would be unanimous in accelerating their destruction; but how many individuals of corrupt principles, and infamous conduct, have in different countries placed themselves by degrees beyond the reach of responsibility! how

many atrocious crimes did Robespierre perpetrate before his death atoned for his guilt !

After the inauguration of the Directory, Buonaparté, as General of the armed force of Paris, waited on each of the five Directors. Carnot, who succeeded Sieyès, lived at the top of a house beneath the ruins of the Luxembourg, his official apartments not being ready : it was on a Monday that Buonaparté presented himself, which was the day whereon a celebrated writer regularly visited Carnot. This person was singing an air, accompanied by a young lady on the piano-forte. The appearance of Buonaparté, a little well made olive complexioned youth, and five or six tall young men, who seemed to pay him great attention, was a very surprising contrast : he entered the room, bowing with an air of ease and self-possession, and the author, in question, asked Carnot who the gentlemen were. The Director answered, “ the General of the armed force of Paris, and his aid-de-camps.” His dissimilarity to such Generals as Santerre or Rossignol was striking. “ What is his name ?” said the author, “ Buonaparté.” “ Has he great military skill ?” “ So it is said.” “ What has he ever done that is remarkable :” “ He is the officer who commanded the troops of the Convention on the day of Vendémiaire.” The shade deepened in the countenance of the inquirer ; he was one of the electors of Vendémiaire ; he retired to an obscure part of the room, and observed the new visitor in thoughtfulness and silence.

Buonaparté seeing the young lady still at her instrument, and the company attending solely to him, said, “ I have put a stop to your amusements : some person was singing, I beg I may not interrupt the

party." The Director apologized; the General insisted, and after two or three national airs had been played, he rose, and took his leave. As soon as he had departed, the conversation turned on Buonaparté, and Carnot predicted from that short interview, that the youthful General would not long retain a command, that an aspiring genius could consider merely as a step to future fame and glory.

Barras was not deficient in discernment: he had a quick perception of abilities, and he, therefore, duly appreciated the exertions of Buonaparté in the affair of the sections; he saw that a man endowed with so much observation and energy, was fitted for a station in which vigilance and activity were essentially requisite, and he procured Buonaparté to be advanced to the command of the army of the interior: the high rank which he acquired by this appointment, was accompanied by adequate emoluments, and carried with it considerable influence.

About the month of June in this year, 1795, La Vendee once more appeared in a state of insurrection: the Vendean chiefs were distrusted, a correspondence with the English was intercepted, Charette and Stofflet issued a manifesto on the part of the Vendéans, and civil war again seemed inevitable.

The British government being convinced that if France were in the full enjoyment of all her strength and resources, that she would be too powerful for her opponents, determined to attempt a descent on her coasts. A number of regiments of Emigrants were raised, and which were recruited partly by the unfortunate Toulonese, who were saved from the mas-

facre in that city, and partly by volunteers from amongst the French prisoners. Count de Sombreuil, a youth of intrepid valour, and Count d'Hervilly, engaged in the expedition, but the command was given to M. Paifaye, who enjoyed neither the confidence of the troops, nor any reputation for military ability.

This little army of gallant Frenchmen had every thing pleasing to hope from the success of their attempt; they were approaching the shores of their native country from which they had been excluded by a rigorous decree, and were in search of their homes, their property, and their kinsmen; they expected to restore tranquillity to France by their prowess; and although the smallness of their number was incompetent to effect their project, they carried with them an immense quantity of arms, ammunition, and accoutrements, with an invincible courage, and an ardent zeal: they defied the whole power of France, and feared not to raise with them in their progress, all the honourable, the virtuous, and the loyal spirits of their unfortunate country. The expedition had been provided with a liberality, bordering on profusion, and, from the judicious equipment of their army, and the vast supply of arms and stores, which they could distribute on their landing, they did not doubt of the most favourable results.

After being sixteen days at sea, the fleet anchored in the bay of Quiberon, and about 2,500 men made good their landing on the morning of the 27th June, before whom 200 Republicans appeared to make a stand, and were easily put to flight. Multitudes of peasants came from different quarters to see the army, and appeared very much pleased with the ex-



pedition. This procured them large distributions of different necessaries, and upwards of 28,000 muskets were delivered to them, including women as well as men.

The Fort of Quiberon, which contained about 600 Republicans, surrendered to M. d'Hervilly on the 3d of July. It was afterwards determined, in a council of war, to remove the main army within the peninsula and fort of Quiberon, while M. Vauban, who commanded some regular troops and Chouans, was to remain in his station at Carnae, situated on the north-east of Quiberon Bay, about six miles south-west of the town of Auray. On the 3d and 4th of July, the Republicans attacked the Chouans, who were posted in the villages between Landwan, Mindon, Auray and the army, when the Emigrants found it impracticable to keep them to their posts. The miserable inhabitants of Carnae, and its vicinity, were filled with consternation at the departure of the Emigrant army. The Republicans had obtained the most accurate intelligence respecting every movement of their antagonists, and, therefore, they were no sooner within the peninsula than they attacked Carnae, and all their other posts. Part of the Emigrants saved themselves by the British boats, while the rest were pursued under the cannon of the fort.

The Convention being informed of these attempts in Brittany, dispatched Blad and Tallien to raise the neighbouring departments, whilst General Hoche organised an army; he forced the Emigrants to withdraw to the camp of Konsten, under the protection of the fort of Penthievre, whilst he himself occu-

pied the village of St. Barbe, and entrusted General Lemoine with the construction of strong works on the heights of St. Barbe, which is so situated, at the entrance of the peninsula from the main land, that it commands the communication. Every person of discernment in the Emigrant army began already to discover the necessity of a retreat; but, far from accomplishing the very object which was proposed on retiring within the peninsula, to wit, the re-establishing order with respect to the stores and distributions, the confusion and disorder increased in a frightful progression. By the orders of M. Puisaye and Sir J. B. Warren, the whole of the provisions on board the transports were disembarked; and these provisions which were destined for the use of the army, were distributed among the hordes of useless Chouans, who crowded the peninsula. M. Puisaye's army, consisting of Emigrants, Chouans, and British, amounted to 12,000 men, of which 5000 were selected for the purpose of raising the blockade, by attacking the Republicans, who were entrenched at St. Barbe in three different camps. The Emigrants carried the two first, and the Republicans, under General Humbert, retreated, with seeming confusion; but on attacking the third, two masked batteries, of grape shot, were opened upon them, and a most terrible slaughter ensued. To facilitate their retreat, the Emigrants disencumbered themselves of their arms, their knapsacks, and even their very shoes, but it is probable that none of them would have escaped, if the firing from the British fleet had not put a period to the pursuit of the Republicans. Count de Thalmont, and many nobles, were

left dead on the field, and General d'Hervilly, was desperately wounded; and the Republicans took three pieces of cannon.

Hoche attacked Fort Penthievre with 3,000 men, led on by Generals Humbert and Valle, assisted by numbers of deserters from the Royalists: 300 soldiers secretly scaled the rocks, and, being favoured by part of the garrison, obtained possession of one of the advanced works, and planted the tri-coloured flag: the entrenched camps of the Emigrants were forced, and M. Puifaye being wounded, retired on board one of the English vessels; but the Royalists rallied under the gallant Sombreuil, who was only anxious to hold out until the women and children, who were precipitating themselves into the sea, had obtained an asylum on board the English fleet.

It was now impossible to resist the assailants, the vanquished demanded a parley, but some of the chiefs took that opportunity to escape in the boats sent to their succour; the firing recommenced, and the unhappy Emigrants were reduced to the deplorable alternative, of either perishing by the swords of the victors, or the waves of the sea. The accomplished Sombreuil, the bishop of Dol, with the clergy who accompanied him, and nearly the whole of the Emigrant officers, were taken and guillotined. The greater part of the privates, except the Chouans, effected their escape. The Republicans got no less than 70,000 stand of arms, 150,000 pairs of shoes, all the artillery landed from the fleet, and magazines and clothing for 40,000 men. Six ships laden with provisions, brandy and rum, which had arrived on the evening previous to the action, fell into the hands of the Republicans.

The melancholy defeat of this expensive expedition, did not convince England that the subjugation of France was impossible by such means. The fleet of Sir John B. Warren, continued off the coast of Britany during the remaining part of the year, not without hopes of atchieving something extraordinary in favour of the Royalists. A council of war being held in Quiberon bay, it was resolved to commence an attack on the island of Noirmoutier, which was formerly in possession of the people of Vendée. It was in consequence attacked; and, the assailants were repulsed with considerable loss. The extravagance of this attempt with such a force was obvious, against a fortress defended by 120 pieces of cannon, and 15,000 men. The isle of Dieu, however, was taken possession of, and the British cruisers kept the coast in continual alarm, and intercepted all communication by sea.

This wretched predatory warfare was productive of no advantage, but of the greatest calamities, to the brave men who volunteered their services: the half sufficient expeditions of the British were contemptible; and it seemed almost impossible, for the English cabinet to combine those considerations, which are essential to the plan of any great or important enterprise.

The campaign in Flanders was commenced by the siege of Luxembourg, which surrendered to the Republicans on the 7th of June. The honours of war were granted to the soldiers, on condition that they would not serve against the Republic during the war, unless exchanged. This fortress has been deemed one of the strongest fortifications in Europe. Its garrison consisted of 10,000 men, under the com-

mand of the celebrated Marshal Bender, and all supplies had been cut off before it capitulated. The greatest part of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, under General Jourdan, crossed the Rhine, near Dusseldorff, and the French got possession of Dusseldorff, and invested Mentz, after the Austrians had taken a strong position on the Lahn, between the towns of Nassau and Diesbourg. During these operations, the army of the Rhine and Moselle, under General Pichegru, accomplished the passage of the river over against Mannheim, which fine city was immediately taken possession of by the Republicans.

In the mean time, the army under the command of Jourdan, forced the posts occupied by the Austrians on the Lahn; in consequence of which it crossed the Maine, and Mentz was completely blockaded. A division of the army under General Pichegru, received orders to take such a station as might most effectually prevent the junction of Clairfait's army with that of Marshal Wurmser, the latter of whom was marching in great force to relieve Mannheim, in hopes of preventing its surrender; but a part of the French cavalry having proceeded to plunder the peasantry, the Austrians returned to the charge and surprised them. The infantry disputed the ground for some time with great obstinacy, but were, at last, obliged to give way, and the Austrian troops, by rapidly following up their success, caused the whole division of the enemy to fall back on Mannheim. This check suggested to the Republican Generals the necessity of giving up their pursuit; and Jourdan perceived that his station was no longer tenable; for the enemy had fallen on his rear, and made themselves masters of a considerable part of his artillery.

At the commencement of the negotiation between France and Prussia, Prince Hohenlohe surprised the Republicans at Keiserlautern, where they lost 3,000 men; but the Prussians having made immediate restitution the treaty was continued. Hohenlohe was at Frankfort when the Republicans passed the Rhine, and he is charged with having encouraged Clairfait to attack them, by the information he communicated respecting the position they had taken, and the weakness of their force. The French were surprised; and General Jourdan was obliged to raise the siege of Mentz, and commence a retreat. The army of the Sambre and Meuse was immediately pursued by the enemy, after Clairfait had collected his scattered forces along the Neckar; at which time General Pichegru crossed the Rhine, for the purpose of reinforcing the army on the left, leaving a strong garrison at Manheim. In the mean time, the army under the command of General Jourdan was hotly pursued by Clairfait, and, after a variety of skirmishes, effected its retreat to Dusseldorff, where it first crossed the Rhine. The garrison of Mentz received very powerful reinforcements, and the Austrians being under no apprehensions for its safety, two of their divisions crossed the Rhine at different places, and commenced an attack on the remainder of the French army, which had been entrenched before that place, and exerted their strength to no purpose for several months. The Republicans fought with fury and desperation for a considerable time, but were, at length, obliged to relinquish all their posts, the whole of their artillery having been seized by the enemy, and their works demolished.

The Austrians now directed the greater part of

their strength towards the Palatinate. They were masters of the whole country from Landau to the banks of the Moselle; at which critical period, General Jourdan collected all the Republican forces on the left side of the Rhine; and, after leaving a strong party at Dusseldorf, he advanced, and checked the career of the Austrians in that quarter. In the mean time, the town of Mannheim was vigorously assaulted by the Austrians, and it now suffered so severely from the bombardment as to be nearly destroyed by fire. The French garrison, cut off from all hope of relief, since the Austrians were in possession of the opposite bank of the river, surrendered themselves as prisoners of war, to the amount of 8000 men. In the Palatinate, the Austrians had possession of the whole country from the Rhine, in a direction north-west, through Landau to Deux Ponts, and from that quarter their conquests extended north to the country along the Moselle as far as Treves. The Republicans made a most impetuous assault upon the Austrians, every step was disputed in the keenest manner, but they at length succeeded, in circumscribing the boundaries of the Austrians; and a cessation of hostilities was mutually agreed to for the space of three months. During these transactions, the army of Italy acted upon the defensive, as the Combined Forces were greatly superior, although the rigour of the season prevented any very active operations.

The Cabinet of St. James's, soon after the conquest of Holland, and the treaty of alliance signed between that country and France, ordered an embargo on all the Dutch vessels in British ports, and

five men of war, and 60 sail of smaller vessels were detained; an order for reprisals was also granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of Holland.

All the Dutch factories in Asia were obtained by the British government: its power was thus encreased in the Eastern world, and the Cape of Good Hope was captured, by an expedition under Vice Admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone.

The French planters, however, and free people of colour, in the islands of Grenada, Dominica, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent's, in the West Indie, were powerfully urged to rise in rebellion against the British government; and the celebrated decree for emancipating the slaves was industriously promulgated.

Victor Hugues landed a body of troops in the island of St. Lucia, in the month of April, 1795, which were joined by most of the people of colour, and the old French inhabitants, who received accessions of strength from the negro slaves. General Stuart, who had the chief command in the island, attacked the chief place of strength at Souffriere, occupied by the rebels, and fell into an ambuscade, but from which he had, at length, the good fortune to effect his escape. Two days after he gave them battle at Souffriere, but was defeated with the loss of 200 men, and a number of officers. This reverse obliged the British troops to confine themselves within the fort, and they were compelled to abandon the whole island in the month of July.

The insurgents in Grenada were also encouraged and assisted by Victor Hugues, who dispatched a number of men for that purpose from Guadaloupe, and the Lieutenant Governor, and several of the inhabitants were made prisoners, and the French kept



possession in the island. To add to the calamities of the colonists, the insurrection was succeeded by the yellow fever, which made more dreadful havoc among them than the sword.

The subjugation of Dominica was projected by Victor Hugues, and the French inhabitants of the island, and a detachment from Guadaloupe, was joined by a prodigious number of negroes. Only one company of regular troops was stationed upon this island, and must have fallen into the hands of the insurgents, had not the British inhabitants risen upon them with invincible fortitude, and obliged them to surrender. Several executions of the French inhabitants soon after followed, and several disaffected were sent to England. The island of St. Vincent's was also in insurrection; the British troops were repulsed by the Caribs, in two different engagements, who were not totally subdued at the termination of the year.

Jamaica was also subjected to a share of these colonial calamities. A terrible fire, on the 14th of June, broke out at Montego Bay, which did incredible mischief to a vast quantity of stores, and reduced to ashes the greater part of the town: the Maroon Indians took up arms, and a melancholy war ensued. Blood-hounds were sent for from Cuba to hunt down the unhappy negroes, and the policy of the British government was, in this instance, marked by cruelty, and detested by all thinking and humane men.

On the 7th of October, 1795, the British Mediterranean fleet of about 60 sail of merchantmen, homeward-bound, under the protection of three ships of the line and four frigates, was overtaken, by a French fleet, of nine sail of the line, and a number

of frigates, off Cape St. Vincent, under the command of Admiral Richery, who had left the port of Toulon but a short time before. As soon as the British Commodore saw the French fleet making towards him with a press of sail, he gave the signal for standing away from them immediately. In the mean time, the Republican Admiral dispatched his frigates to prevent the escape of the merchant ships. The Bedford and the Formidable, as well as the frigates, effected their escape, but the retreat of the Censeur of 74 guns was entirely cut off, and near thirty of the merchantmen fell into the hands of the French.

During the period of these transactions, the final and happy termination of civil war in La Vendée, seemed approaching; for those indefatigable chiefs, Stofflet and Charette, were captured and shot, and the whole of their followers submitted to the constituted authorities.







*Bombardier.*

## CHAPTER III.

*Memoirs of Josephine La Pagerie, and Viscount de Beauharnois.—The Friendship of Barras and Madame Beauharnois.—Buonaparté marries Madame Beauharnois; and Carnot gives him the Command of the Army of Italy.—BUONAPARTE'S CAMPAIGNS IN ITALY.—Battle of Montenotte.—Battle of Mellefium.—Gallant Defence of Lieutenant General Provera.—Battle of Dego.—The French repulsed at Vico.—Battle of Mondovì.—The French take Cherasco, &c.—Peace with Sardinia: Buonaparté's Proclamation to the Army of Italy.*

JOSEPHINE La Pagerie, at twenty-two years of age, married the Viscount Alexander de Beauharnois, Major in a royal French regiment of infantry: they were both descended from noble families, both natives of Martinique, and both educated in France. The handsome fortune of the beautiful Josephine La Pagerie was an agreeable addition to the slender income of the youthful Viscount: their expenditure was liberal; and, having been introduced at court, their rank, the urbanity of their manners, and the elegance of their entertainments, ensured them the best company in Paris.

At the commencement of the Revolution, M. de Beauharnois was chosen, by the nobility of the bailiwick of Blois, a deputy to the States-General, or National Assembly; and, in June 1791, he was elected their president, and in that capacity signed the proclamation to the French people on the journey of the King to Varennes. He served under General

Biron, in April 1792, and bore the rank of Adjutant-General, when the French were defeated near Mons. He afterwards succeeded Custine in the command of the army of the Rhine; was suspended by the deputies in August, 1793, and, shortly after, arrested with his wife. He was consigned to the guillotine on the 23<sup>d</sup> of July, 1796: if Robespierre had not followed him, a few days after, Madame Beauharnois would also have perished on the Republican scaffold. In one of the 36 lists of persons destined by Fouquier Thionville to supply the guillotine for 36 successive days, appeared the name of Madame de Beauharnois; another list contained the name of Barras. On the 12th of August, 1794, she was released by Legendre. Barras caused the national seals to be taken off her house, in the Rue de Victoires, a few weeks after, and continued to honour her with his protection, by sojourning in her hotel, until October 1795, when his appointment to the office of Director, required that he should occupy the splendid suite of apartments assigned him in the palace of the Luxembourg.

Barras, invested with the dignity of one of the chief magistrates of France, did not find it convenient to continue his intimacy with Madame Beauharnois: if their attachment had been mutual, it was either easily subdued, or it had suddenly subsided, for the lady agreed to an arrangement, which evinced her obedience to the wishes of her friend, and the self command that she had acquired over own feelings: she consented to give her hand to Napoleon Buonaparté, the General of the interior, if the General himself could be induced to offer her his vows of conjugal affection. The plan was formed, and Bar-

ras proceeded to effect its completion, to provide his mistress with a husband, and his friend with a wife.

The army of Italy was without a leader: Carnot displaced General Scherer for habitual intoxication. Buonaparté having shewn his talents for command, as well as for execution, both at Toulon and on the 13th Vendemiaire, Barras recommended him to Carnot, as the most likely man to serve the Republic faithfully in Italy. Carnot's high opinion of the genius of Buonaparté seconded the nomination. Barras offered to Buonaparté Madame Beauharnois, and 500,000 livres, and Carnot offered him the army. Barras told him that the lady and the army were equally necessary to a youthful and aspiring General: his friendship, his gallantry, and his ambition were roused, and as the terms of the offer implied, that neither could be gratified without the other, he obliged his friend Barras, and became the husband of Madame Beauharnois, and Commander in Chief of the army of Italy.

Buonaparté arrived at the head quarters early in the spring of 1796, and only awaited the disappearance of the snow to commence his operations. In the interim he lived familiarly with the soldiers, marched, on foot, at their head, suffered their hardships and privations, redressed their grievances, and acquired, by attention to their desires, their esteem and affection. The strength of his army was very inferior in point of numbers to that of his enemies: "But, if we are vanquished," said he, "I shall have too much;—if conquerors, we stand in need of nothing."

The Austrians and Piedmontese occupied all the passes and heights of the Alps which command the

river of Genoa. The French had their right supported by Savona, and their left towards Montenotte, while two demi-brigades; were considerably advanced in front of their right, at Voltri.

After some days spent in movements intended to deceive the French, hostilities were commenced by the Imperialists. Beaulieu ordered 10,000 men, on the 9th of April, 1796, to attack the post of Voltri. General Cervoni, with 3,000 men retreated, during night, in great order, to the church of Our Lady of Savona, and Buonaparte covered his retreat with 1,500 men, posted for that purpose in the avenues of Sospello, and on the heights of Verraggio. On the 10th, about four in the morning, Beaulieu, at the head of 15,000 men, attacked and drove in all the posts, which supported the centre of the French, and presented himself, at one o'clock of the day, before the redoubt of Montenotte, the last of their entrenchments. Notwithstanding repeated charges, this redoubt kept firm, and arrested the progress of the enemy. The chief of brigade, Rampon, who commanded these 1,500 men, made his soldiers in the midst of the fire, take an oath to perish in the redoubt, and, during the whole night, kept the enemy at the distance of pistol-shot. In the night-time, General Laharpe, with all the troops of the right, took post behind the redoubt, and Buonaparté, followed by the Generals Berthier and Massena, and the Commissioner Salicetti, brought up the troops of his centre and his left, at one o'clock in the morning, by Altara, on the flank and rear of the Austrians. On the 11th, at day-break, Beaulieu and Laharpe, attacked and charged each other with vigour and various success, when Massena appeared scatter-



ing death and terror on the flank rear of the Austro-Sardinians, where General Argenteau commanded. Soon after, the enemy's Generals, Roccavino and Argenteau, were wounded, and the rout became complete. Fifteen hundred men were killed, and 2,500 made prisoners, of which 60 were officers; several standards were also taken. The French made themselves masters of Carcara on the 12th, and also of Cairo.

Beaulieu, although beaten, was still able to send assistance from his right wing to the left of the Austro-Sardinian army. Buonaparté removed his head-quarters to Carcara on the 12th, and ordered General Laharpe to march to Sozello, in order to menace the eight battalions of the enemy stationed there, and to repair, on the day following, by a rapid and concealed march to the town of Cairo; while General Massena was directed to gain the heights of Dego, at the same time that the Generals Menaud and Joubert occupied one of the heights of Bieistro, and the other the interesting position of St. Marguerite. This movement following the battle of Montenotte, placed the French army on the other side of the Alps.

On the 13th, at day-break, General Augereau forced the defiles of Millefimo, while the Generals Menard and Joubert drove the enemy from all the neighbouring posts, and surrounded a corps of 1,500 Austrian grenadiers, commanded by Lieutenant-General Provera in person, a knight of the order of Maria Theresa, who gallantly retired to the summit of the mountain of Cossaria, and entrenched himself in the ruins of an old castle extremely strong, on account of its position. Augereau ordered his ar-

tillery to advance, when both kept up a cannonade for several hours. At eleven o'clock of the day, Buonaparté, vexed at finding his march arrested by a handful of men, ordered General Provera to be summoned to surrender; the latter requested to speak with the Commander in Chief, but a lively cannonade commencing on the right wing of the French prevented him from repairing to Provera, who continued to treat with General Augereau for several hours; Augereau, at length, formed his men into four columns, and advanced against the castle. Already had Joubert entered the enemy's entrenchments with seven men, when, being wounded in the head, he was thrown on the ground; and his soldiers thinking him dead, the movement of his column relaxed. The second column commanded by General Banel, advanced in silence, when the General was killed at the foot of the enemy's entrenchments. The third column under Adjutant-General Quenin, who was also killed, was in like manner disconcerted.

Night approaching gave Buonaparté reason to fear, that the enemy would attempt to make their way, sword in hand: he, therefore, ordered all the battalions to unite, epaulments of casks to be formed, and howitzer batteries planted within half a musket-shot of the enemy.

At dawn of day on the 14th, the hostile armies faced each other: the French left, under Augereau, kept General Provera blockaded: several of the enemy's regiments, and among others that of Belgiojoso, attempted to penetrate the centre of the French, but were vigorously repulsed by General Menard, who was then directed to fall back on the

right wing. Before one o'clock at noon General Massena extended his line beyond the enemy's left, which occupied the village of Dego with strong entrenchments and vigorous batteries. The French pushed forward their light troops as far as the road leading from Diego to Spino. General Laharpe marched with his division in three close columns; the one on his left, commanded by General Cauffe, crossed the Bormida under the enemy's fire, with the water up to their middle, and attacked the right of the enemy's left wing. General Cervoni, at the head of the second column, also passed the Bormida, under the protection of one of the French batteries, and advanced immediately against the enemy; while the third column, under Adjutant-General Boyer, turned a ravin, and cut off their retreat. The enemy, surrounded on all sides, had not time to capitulate; and the French columns, spreading every where terror and death, put them to the rout. While the right of the French made the necessary dispositions for attacking the enemy's left, General Provera with the corps he commanded at Cossaria, surrendered prisoners of war. By this victory, the French acquired from seven to nine thousand prisoners; and the enemy had between 2,000 and 2,500 killed.

On the 15th at day-break, Beaulieu, with 7,000 Austrians, the flower of his army, attacked the village of Dego with great boldness, and carried it. Massena, as soon as he had formed part of his troops, began the attack, but was repulsed, in three different attempts. General Cauffe was not more fortunate; having rallied the 99th demi-brigade, he attacked the enemy, and was on the point of charging

with the bayonet, when he fell mortally wounded. In this condition, perceiving General Buonaparté, he collected his remaining strength, and asked him if Dego was retaken—"The posts are ours!" replied the General—"Then," said Caussé, "*Vive la République!* I die content." The affair, however, was not yet decided, and it was already two o'clock of the afternoon. Buonaparté ordered a demi-brigade to form in column under General Victor, whilst Adjutant-General Lanus, rallying a demi-brigade of light infantry, precipitated himself, at their head, on the enemy's left. These combined movements carried Dego: the cavalry completed the rout of the enemy, who left 600 dead and 1,400 prisoners. General Rusca had made himself master of the post of San-Giovanni, which commands the valley of the Bormida. General Augereau, having dislodged the enemy from the redoubts of Montezemo, opened a communication with the valley of the Tanaro, which Serrurier's division had already occupied.

The activity with which these measures were executed cannot be too much remarked. The Directory in their letter to Buonaparté, expressed the satisfaction they felt, in finding the choice they had made of him to conduct the army of Italy to victory, justified by the laurels he had gained. "To-day, General!" said they, "receive the tribute of national gratitude; merit it more and, more and prove to Europe, that Beaulieu, by changing the field of battle has not changed his opponent; that, beaten in the north, he shall be constantly defeated by the brave army of Italy; and that, with such defenders, liberty shall triumph over the impotent efforts of the enemies of the Republic."

General Laharpe, and the chief of brigade, Rampon, also received honourable testimonies of the regard which the Directory had to their exertions.

The well-directed movements of Generals Augereau, Bayrand, and Joubert, compelled the enemy to evacuate the entrenched camp during night. At day-break, on the 17th, General Serrurier entered the town of Ceva, and invested the citadel, in which was a garrison of between seven and eight hundred men. The heavy artillery had not been able to keep pace with the rapid march of the army in the mountains, and had not yet arrived. The Piedmontese army, driven from Ceva, took a position at the confluence of the Cursaglia. On the 20th Serrurier attacked their right, by the village of St. Michael, and passing the bridge, under the fire of the enemy, compelled them, after three hours fighting, to evacuate the village; but the Tanaro not being fordable, the division, which was to attack their left, could harass them only by its riflemen. General Serrurier was, therefore, obliged to retreat: the enemy's position was formidable; surrounded by two deep and impetuous rivers, they had cut down all the bridges, and erected strong batteries on the banks. Both armies spent the whole of the 21st in making dispositions, and in reciprocally seeking, by false manœuvres, to conceal their real intentions.

At two in the morning General Massena crossed the Tanaro, near Ceva, and occupied the village of Lezegno. Guieux and Fiorella, Generals of brigade, made themselves masters of the bridge of the Torra. Buonaparté's object was, to bear down on Mondovi, and compel the enemy to change the field

of battle; but General Colli, fearing the issue of an engagement, which must have been decisive on so extended a line, retreated. At day-break the two armies were in sight of each other, and the engagement began in the village of Vico. General Guieux bore down on the left of Mondovi, while the Generals Fiorella and Dammartin attacked and carried the redoubt, which covered the enemy's centre; upon this the Sardinian army abandoned the field of battle, and the same evening the French entered Mondovi. The enemy's loss amounted to 1,800 men, of whom 1,300 were prisoners.

After the battle of Mondovi the enemy crossed the Stura, and took a position between Coni and Cherasco. On the 24th the French entered the town of Bena. General Serrurier, on the 25th, marched with his division to La Trinité, and cannonaded the town of Fossano, the head quarters of General Colli. General Massena advanced against Cherasco, and drove in the enemy's grand guard. Buonaparté sent General Dujard, and his own aid-de-camp, Marmont, to reconnoitre the place, and plant howitzer batteries on purpose to beat down the palisades. The enemy, after some discharges of their artillery, evacuated the town, and repassed the Stura. The French took 28 pieces of cannon, and very considerable magazines: this victory was of the greatest consequence; for, besides supporting their right wing, it furnished an ample store of subsistence. The French threw bridges of boats across the Stura, and Fossano surrendered to Serrurier. General Augereau marched against Alba, which surrendered, and threw several bridges of boats across the Tanaro, to enable the army to pass the river.

The King of Sardinia was now reduced to the necessity of shutting himself up in Turin: the aged monarch, fearful that he should receive no reinforcement from the Austrians, determined to treat for peace. General Colli, commander in chief of his army, upon the 23d of April, addressed a letter to Buonaparté, stating, that as his majesty, the King, had sent plenipotentiaries to Genoa, to treat for peace, under the mediation of the court of Spain; he was of opinion, the interests of humanity required, that hostilities should be suspended on both sides, during the dependence of the negociation. He, therefore, proposed an armistice, either unlimited, or for a certain time, as the General should think proper, with a view to prevent the useless effusion of human blood. To this letter Buonaparté replied, that the Executive Directory had reserved to itself the right of treating for peace: it was, therefore, necessary that the plenipotentiaries of the King should repair to Paris, or wait at Genoa the arrival of the plenipotentiaries, whom the French government might send thither. He further observed, that the military position of the two armies rendered impossible every unqualified suspension of arms; and, although, for his own part, he was convinced, that Government was disposed to grant reasonable conditions of peace to his majesty, yet he could not, on vague presumptions, arrest his march: there was, however, he remarked, a way whereby General Colli might attain his purpose, conformable to the true interests of his court, and which would prevent an effusion of blood; and that was to put into his possession two of the three fortresses of Coni, Alexandria, or Tortona: they could then wait, without further hostilities, the issue of nego-

ciations, which might perhaps be protracted. A peace was granted to the unfortunate monarch: he surrendered Exilles, Tortona, Coni, Alexandria, and Château Dauphin, as the pledges of his faith, and relinquished Savoy and the county of Nice for ever.

On the 26th, General Buonaparté published the following Address to his army, from the head quarters at Cherasco:

**"SOLDIERS!**

"In the course of 14 days you have acquired six victories, taken 21 stand of colours, 50 pieces of cannon, several strong fortresses, and conquered the richest portion of Piedmont: you have taken 1,500 prisoners, and killed and wounded more than 10,000 men: you have, hitherto, however, fought only for sterile rocks, rendered famous by your courage, but useless to your country, and by your services, you have emulated the conquering army of Holland and the Rhine. Destitute of every thing, you have supplied every thing; without cannon you have gained battles; without bridges you have crossed rivers; without shoes you have performed forced marches; without brandy, and often without bread, you have spent the night in arms. Republican phalanxes! the soldiers of liberty, are alone capable of suffering what you have experienced, and your grateful country will owe to you a part of its prosperity. If the recovery of Toulon presaged the immortal campaign of 1793, your present victories augur a campaign still more glorious. The two armies, that but lately attacked you with audacity, now fly, in terror, before you; and the base men, who ridiculed your misery, and inwardly rejoiced at the triumph of the foe, are abashed, and tremble.

"It is, however, not to be dissimbled, that you have effected nothing, while there remains any thing to be performed. Neither Turin nor Milan are yet in your possession, and the ashes of the conquerors of the Tarquins are still trodden on by the assassins of Basleville.



" At the commencement of the campaign you were destitute of every thing; to-day you are abundantly supplied; the magazines taken from the enemy are numerous, and the heavy and field artillery have arrived. Your native land has a right to expect great things from you, and you will justify its expectation. The greatest obstacles have been surmounted, but you have still battles to fight, cities to take, and rivers to pass. Is there one among you whose courage fails? Are there any who prefer to recross the peaks of the Apennines and the Alps, and patiently submit to the insults of a slavish soldiery? No,—such a one exists not among the conquerors of Montenotte, of Millefimo, of Dego, and of Mondovi: all burn to extend afar the glory of the French nation; all are eager to humble those arrogant monarchs, who dared to meditate the slavery of France; all of us wish to dictate a glorious peace, that will indemnify our country for the immense sacrifices it has made: and every one wishes, on returning to his native village, to be able to assert with pride, that he was of the conquering army of Italy.

" This conquest I promise to you, but on a condition that it is necessary you should swear to observe. This condition is, to respect the people whom you liberate, and to repress the dreadful pillage which are only committed by miscreants. Without the observance of this, the Republican army will not be the deliverers of the people, but their scourges; they will not be the honour of the French nation, but they will be disclaimed by their country; your victories, your courage, your success, and the blood of your brethren, who have fallen in battles—all, even their honour, and your glory, will be lost. As to myself, and the Generals enjoying the confidence of the troops, they will blush to command an army without discipline or restraint, and which recognizes no law, but that of force. Invested with the national authority, and rendered strong by justice and the laws, I know how to compel the

few, who are destitute of courage and sentiment, to respect the laws of humanity and honour, should they dare to trample them under foot. I will not suffer brigands to sully the laurels of the army of Italy; I will see that every regulation be rigorously executed; marauders shall be shot without pity. Already some have fallen victims to this odious crime; but I remarked with pleasure the eagerness and good conduct which my brave fellow-soldiers have displayed in executing their orders.

“ I proclaim to the nations of Italy, that the French army come to break their chains; that the French people are the friends of all nations; and I call on them to approach with confidence; and I declare, that their property, their religion, and usages, will be respected, that the French troops, in making war, will prove a generous enemy, and that they are the foes of those tyrants only, who enslave Italy.”



## CHAPTER IV.

CONTINUATION OF BUONAPARTE'S CAMPAIGNS IN ITALY.—*Buonaparté passes the Po.—The Austrians driven from Fombio.—Armistice with the Duke of Parma.—Battle of the BRIDGE of LODI.—The French take Pizzighitone, Cremona, and Milan.—Festival at Paris in Honour of the Victories of the Armies.—Speech of Carnot.—Address of Buonaparté to his Army.*

THE armistice with the King of Sardinia was signed by Buonaparté on the 29th of April, and immediately afterwards he marched his army towards the Po. Masséna had reached Alexandria, and seized on the magazines, which the Austrians, unable to carry off with the readiness they abandoned their positions, had sold to the town. On the 6th of May the army of Italy took possession of Tortona: they found in this town, the fortifications of which were entire, more than one hundred pieces of brass cannon, and immense magazines. Ceva and Coni were in an equal state of defence, and liberally provisioned. Thus the war supported itself, and the successes of the French furnished them with the means of attaining new conquests. The stipulations in the 4th article of the armistice, which granted to the French the liberty of passing the Po at Valenza, and various marches, and several military and diplomatic transactions, induced the General of the Austrian army to believe that Buonaparté wished to cross the Po at Valenza; but Buonaparté had hastened, by a forced march, to Castel-San-Giovanni, with 5,000 grenadiers, and

1,500 horse. At eleven at night, Andreossi, chief of battalion of artillery, and Adjutant-General Frontin, with 100 dragoons, reconnoitred the Po as far as Placenza, and seized five boats, loaded with rice, on board of which were some officers, 500 sick, and all the army medicines. On the 7th, at nine in the morning, Buonaparté reached the Po, opposite Placenza. Two squadrons of hussars, posted on the other side of the river, appeared determined to dispute the passage. The French troops threw themselves into the boats, and landed on the other side, when, after a few musket-shots, the enemy's cavalry retired: the divisions of the army, which had been drawn up *en-echelons*, at different distances, passed the river in the course of the day. Meanwhile Beaulieu, informed of the march of the French, was convinced, but when too late, of the inutility of his entrenchments on the Tesino, and his redoubts at Pavia. On the 8th at noon, Buonaparté learned that a division of the enemy was near: he accordingly advanced, and found them entrenched in the village of Fombio, with 20 pieces of cannon. After a lively cannonade, and a spirited resistance, the Austrians retreated, and were pursued as far as the Adda, and lost part of their baggage, 300 horses, and 500 men, killed or taken prisoners, among whom were several officers.

In the mean time another body of Imperialists reached Codogna, the head quarters of General Laharpe, at two in the morning, and drove in the French videttes. General Laharpe, having mounted his horse on purpose to reconnoitre, ordered a demi-brigade to advance, when the enemy were beat back and disappeared; but Laharpe was killed by a ball. General Berthier repaired immediately to Codogna,

pursued the enemy, and took Casal, with a vast quantity of baggage: the passage of the Po was a most essential operation, as in several places that river could not have been passed in two months. The chief of brigade, Lasnes, particularly distinguished himself on this occasion: he was the first who reached the land after the passage had been effected. The passage of the Po greatly alarmed all the states of Italy; and the Infant Duke of Parma signed an armistice with Buonaparte.

**SUSPENSION OF ARMS** concluded between the French army in Italy and the Duke of Parma and Placenza, by General Buonaparté, Commander of the French army, and M. M. the Marquis Antonio Pallavicini, and Filippo della Rosa, plenipotentiaries of the Duke of Parma, under the mediation of M. the Count of Valdeparaíso, minister of Spain at Parma.

**ARTICLES.**—There shall be a suspension of arms between the army of the French Republic and the Duke of Parma till a treaty of peace be concluded between the two states. The Duke of Parma shall send Plenipotentiaries to the Executive Directory at Paris.—Whereby he engages to pay a military contribution of 2,000,000 of livres, French money.—To furnish 1,200 draught horses, with their harness; 400 dragoon horses, with their harness, and 100 saddle horses, for the superior officers of the army.—To give up 20 paintings, to be chosen by the General in Chief, from among those in the Dutchy.—To lodge in the magazines of the French at Tortona, 10,000 quintals of wheat, and 5,000 of oats; and to furnish 2,000 oxen.—In consideration of these contributions, the dominions of the Duke of Parma were to be considered as neutral states, until the conclusion of the negotiation at Paris.

Buonaparté, in his dispatches, informed the Directory of his intention of sending to Paris, as soon as possible, the finest pictures of Corregio, and among others, a St. Jerome, said to be his master-piece.—“ I confess,” observed Buonaparté, “ this saint has chosen an unlucky moment to arrive at Paris; but I hope you will grant him the honours of the museum :”

The Senate of Venice ordered Louis XVIII. to quit its territories, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany sued for favour. The King of Naples sent a minister to Genoa to negotiate for peace, and all the sea-ports of the Peninsula were shut against the English. The route to Milan, which had been opened to the French, was not secure until the Austrians should be driven from the banks of the Adda. Buonaparté had disposed the march of his divisions in such a manner, that, in less than three hours, he could unite them in any one point; but Beaulieu had already placed the Adda between himself and the French, and waited them, in order of battle, at the end of a bridge, 100 toises in length, and he hoped to arrest their progress by covering it with a numerous artillery. This bridge, to pass which was even a bolder undertaking than crossing the Po, lay at the town of Lodi: it was at the head of this bridge, on the side next the city, that Buonaparté was to plant, under a shower of grape-shot, two pieces of cannon, in order to prevent the enemy from breaking it down, whilst a column was forming to carry the pass. The French entered Lodi, and Beaulieu, with his whole army ranged in order of battle, and 30 pieces of heavy cannon, defended the passage of the bridge. Buonaparté ordered a battery to be formed of all his artillery, and the cannonade continued for several hours with

great vivacity. As the troops arrived they formed in close column with the second battalion of carabineers at their head, followed by all the grenadier battalions, at charge-step, amidst reiterated acclamations of *Vive la Republique!* They presented themselves at the bridge; but the Austrians kept up so tremendous a fire, that the soldiers who advanced fell by columns; they retreated, but were again rallied on, and the slaughter was again dreadful; a second time they retreated, but Buonaparté was immoveable in his determination; again they rushed forward, over the dead bodies of their comrades, and the Generals Berthier, Massena, Cervoni, Dalmagne, the chief of brigade Lafnes, and the chief of battalion, Dupat, placed themselves at the head of the column, and passed the bridge: the Generals Rusca, Augereau, and Bayrand, with their divisions, had passed the Adda, at a ford, a few miles below Lodi, at the time the French began to force the bridge, and they attacked the Austrians suddenly in the rear, at the time when they thought the French were only on one side of the river, and this decided the wavering fortune of the day. The whole line of artillery was instantly carried, Beaulieu's order of battle broken, and the French troops spread terror and death in all directions: the hostile army was immediately dispersed, though the Austrian cavalry endeavoured to protect the retreat of the infantry, and with that intent charged the French. The Imperialists lost 20 pieces of cannon, and between two and three thousand men, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. The brave, but unfortunate Beaulieu, with the wreck of his army, took refuge under the cannon of Mantua, and abandoned Pizzighitone, Cremona, and the whole of

the Milanese, to the French. Buonaparté, in his dispatches to the Directory, after narrating this memorable battle, observes, That, although since the commencement of the campaign the French had been engaged in many warm contests (and it was, perhaps, necessary the army of the Republic should sometimes suffer for its audacity) none approached the terrible passage of the Bridge of Lodi: the French, after the engagement of Fombio, pursued the Austrians as far as Pizzighitone; they invested it on the 11th, and entered it on the 12th, after a brisk cannonade, and took about 400 prisoners. Cremona surrendered to the victors without resistance, and the vanguard of Buonaparté took the route to Milan, and entered it on the 15th, having received on their march the submission of Pavia, where they found almost all the magazines of the Imperial army. From this moment the conquest of Lombardy may be regarded as complete; for, although the castle of Milan still held out, the tri-coloured flag floated from the extremity of the Lake of Como, and the frontiers of the country of the Grisons, as far as the gates of Parma. Such rapid success, and so many engagements and victories, in so short a space of time, rendered some days of repose necessary to an army fatigued with constantly rapid marches and engagements. The Austrians had evacuated Milan soon after the news of the battle of Lodi; and, when the French prepared to enter the city, a deputation of the inhabitants carried to them the key of its gates. The court of the Archduke immediately departed, and the Archduke and Dukes testified great sorrow at quitting their capital: the streets and squares, through which they



passed, were crowded with people, who shewed no signs either of joy or sorrow, and a very few of the nobility attended the court in its flight. A day or two after, the people assembled in great crowds to witness the entry of the French, and almost all put on the national cockade; the Imperial arms were taken down from most of the public buildings, and, at the Ducal palaces a ludicrous advertisement was stuck up, in the following words, "A house to let, enquire for the keys at Citizen Salicetti's, the French commissioner;" many of the nobility took the lace off their liveries, and the arms off their carriages. On the 14th of May, the tree of liberty was planted, with great ceremony, in the grand square; and about eleven o'clock, the same day, General Massena entered the city, at the head of his troops. A deputation from the city, preceded by the Archbishop, went out to meet him; upon entering, he clapped the keys, which had been given him, one against the other, in token of rejoicing.

The entry of Buonaparté was extremely brilliant: the national guard, who were all on duty, lowered their arms to him, and the nobility and gentry of the city went out to meet him in their most splendid carriages, and returned in the procession, amidst the shouts of an immense populace: the cavalcade proceeded to the Archducal palace, where he was to lodge, attended by several bands of musicians, playing patriotic marches and symphonies; and soon after his arrival, he sat down to a dinner of two hundred covers. The day was concluded by an elegant ball, where the ladies vied with each other in expressions of patriotism, by wearing the French

national colours in every part of their attire. The day following Buonaparté received many visits from the citizens, and in the evening there was a concert of vocal and instrumental music at the theatre. The next day all the chests, containing the property of the Archduke and the city, were emptied into the French coffers, and a splendid national fête was given the day after, with considerable enthusiasm, which finished in the evening with a general illumination; the whole was terminated by sending deputations into the different towns and villages, to instruct the people in the principles of liberty and equality.

Buonaparté issued a proclamation to the people of Lombardy on the 30th Floreal, or 21st of May, stating, "That the French Republic, which had sworn hatred to Kings, had sworn, at the same time, fraternity to the people, and respect for property, persons, and religion; that the French people regarding the people of Lombardy as their brethren, had a *right* to expect a just return, and he, therefore, should impose a contribution of 20,000,000 livres, which should be raised, in equal proportions, by the different districts of Lombardy: "the necessities of the army," says he, "require it, and it is a slight sum for a country so fertile, considering, too, the advantages that must result from it."

Twenty-one standards, monuments of the defeats of the Austrian and Piedmontese armies, had been already transmitted to Paris, and presented in its name to the Executive Directory. These trophies were received by them in a public sitting, amidst the acclamations of *Vive la République*, and the very day on which Buonaparté entered Milan the am-

bassadors of the King of Sardinia signed, at Paris, the definitive treaty of peace between that sovereign and France. The government, desirous of encouraging the ardour of the troops, by a public acknowledgment of their services, decreed the celebration of a *Fête des Victoires*, on the 29th of May, and it was observed at Paris in the following manner:

At ten in the morning a discharge of artillery announced the festival, which was to commence at noon in the *Champ de Mars*. In the centre of the field a statue of Liberty was placed, decorated with various military trophies, having one hand resting on the constitutional act, and the other holding a baton, surmounted with the bonnet of William Tell. The platform, on which the statue was fixed, was elevated 12 feet on a diameter of 30 toises, and was approached by four steps, each 60 feet in length: the circumference of the platform was ornamented with 14 trees, from which were suspended the trophies and standards of 14 armies, having their names inscribed on shields, placed at regular distances in front of the trees: the intervening spaces were filled with military ensigns, fastened together with garlands, in form of festoons. Behind the statue of Liberty rose a large tree, from which were suspended, as trophies, the standards taken from the enemy, all united by garlands of flowers: in front of the statue an altar was erected, and on it were deposited crowns of oak and of laurel, which the Executive Directory, who occupied that station, were to distribute in the name of the gratitude of the country.

The constituted authorities took their stations on the mount raised in the midst of the *Champ de Mars*; an immense crowd covered the extensive slope which

runs round the field, while a cordon of the national guards of Paris enclosed the whole extent of the circle. Infantry and cavalry were ranged in order of battle in this inclosure, and a double line of troops extended from *L'Ecole Militaire*, to the steps of the mount facing them. A deputation of the constituted authorities proceeded to the military school, whither the Directory had repaired, and soon after this the latter appeared, preceded by the ministers, the diplomatic body, the deputation of the constituted authorities, a vast number of military on horseback, and its own guard, the whole train marching in great state to the sound of military music. The Directors were stationed in front of the statue of Liberty, while the ministers and diplomatic corps took their places as had been previously concerted. The national guards on duty, divided into 14 bodies, representing the 14 armies, carried each a distinctive standard: to each of these corps were added a certain number of invalid veterans, or wounded soldiers, and care was taken to place them in the corps representing the army to which they originally belonged: these wounded soldiers, or veterans, conducted by officers, and accompanied with the colours of their respective armies, were to present themselves to the Directory, who placed crowns on their standards. When all had taken their proper stations, the conservatory of music performed a military symphony by Louis Jadin; after which a profound silence was observed, when the Secretary-General read the Decree, fixing the celebration of the festival, and pointing out its motive.

After the decree was read, the citizen Carnot, president of the Executive Directory, delivered an impressive and appropriate speech :

“ At this moment,” said he, “ a great people are assembled, for the purpose of expressing their gratitude to the virtuous citizens who have merited it. How agreeable to discharge this task ! What pleasure to render you this homage, you, to whom your country is indebted for its safety, its glory, and the basis of its prosperity ! you courageous philosophers, to whom France owes her political regeneration, and whose writings have prepared the revolution, filed off the chains of slavery, and dissipated the fury of fanaticism ;—you, citizens, whose intrepid arms have effected this happy revolution, founded the Republic, and struggled for seven years against crime and ambition, royalism and anarchy ;—you, in fine, who labour to render France happy and flourishing, who render her illustrious by your talents, and who enrich her by your discoveries ;—receive the solemn testimony of national gratitude ;—receive it above all, ye Republican armies,—you, whose glory and success fill every soul.

“ It is you, who have defended us against ten coalesced kings ; who have chased them from our territory, and carried into theirs the scourges of war. You have not only vanquished men,—you have surmounted all the obstacles of nature ; you have triumphed over fatigues, over hunger, and the wintry storms. What a spectacle to nations, and what a dreadful lesson to the enemies of liberty ! a new-born Republic arms her children to protect her independence ; nothing can restrain their impetuosity : crossing rivers, forcing entrenchments, and clambering over rocks. *Here*, after innumerable victories, they extend our limits as far as the barriers, which nature has assigned us, and pursuing on the ice the wrecks of three armies, have made an oppressed and hostile nation, a free and an

allied people ; *there*, they have exterminated the hordes of traitors and robbers vomited forth by England, punished the guilty leaders, and restored to the Republic, brethren, who have been too long misled : *here*, clearing the Pyrenees, they precipitate themselves from their summit, overturn every thing which opposes their impetuous ardour, and are only arrested in their career by an honourable peace ; *there*, scaling the Alps and the Appenines, they shoot across the Po and the Adda !

“ The ardour of the soldier is seconded by the genius and valour of his commanders : they conceive with profound wisdom, and execute with energy ; sometimes arranging their forces with coolness, and sometimes precipitating themselves into the midst of dangers, at the head of their brethren in arms. Would that I could here unroll the immense and glorious tablet of their victories !—that I could name our intrepid defenders !—What a number of sublime images and beloved names crowd on my remembrance !.....Immortal warriors, posterity will refuse to credit the multitude of your triumphs ; but for us, we feel conscious of their reality. Do we not see even in this inclosure part of these brave defenders ? Victorious over the external enemies of the state, they are come to repress its internal foes, and maintain, in the interior, the Republic which they have made to be respected abroad. Do we not also see these venerable warriors, grown old in arms, and those, whom honourable wounds force to a premature repose, now seeking an asylum here ?—With what pleasure do our eyes rest on this interesting union ?—With what agreeable emotion do we contemplate their victorious brows !—Why can we only recal you to our recollection, ye heroes, who have perished for liberty ?—you shall at least live for ever in our hearts ; your children shall be dear to us ; the Republic will discharge towards them the debts it owes to you, and will now pay its first tribute by proclaiming your glory and its gratitude.

“ Republican armies, represented in this circle by a

portion of yourselves; invincible phalanxes, whose trophies I perceive on every side, and from which I anticipate new success, advance, and receive the triumphal crowns, which the French people enjoin me to place on your standards.....And you, Frenchmen, whom some endeavour to mislead, be impressed with this interesting scene. Shall our defenders have triumphed in vain?..... Do you wish that divisions and commotions should destroy the fruits of their exploits?.....It becomes you, by my voice, this day, to abjure your hatred: it is for all that their blood has flowed; do not, therefore, shew yourselves ungrateful on the day of retribution."

At this moment two ranks of those brave grenadiers, who so often carried disorder and death to the centre of the enemy's battalions, were seen ascending by the two lateral steps of the raised terrace, and, in the midst of them, the honourable victims of war, whose mutilated limbs attested their courage. Having gained the summit of the elevation, or terrace, and advanced to the foot of the statue of Liberty, each of the deputations received a standard from the president of the Directory, and, during this distribution, the music performed a hymn to victory, while continual discharges of artillery accompanied the ceremony, and were repeated at the moment the standards reached the detachments, that represented the 14 armies. After this another spectacle, not less interesting, attracted general attention. The troops which lined the *Champ de Mars*, quitting their station on the side of the river, to pass the *Ecole Militaire*, formed in order of battle, and performed various evolutions, with a precision and order, that excited the joy and admiration of the spectators; then, advancing

in front of the statue of Liberty, they again sent deputations to the Directory, accompanied with their colours and wounded soldiers. The members of the Executive Directory fixed crowns of oak and laurel on the standards, and placed others on the heads of the wounded men. The music during this executed a second hymn to victory, and a war song, amidst repeated acclamations of *Vive la Republique*. A general discharge of artillery, announced the conclusion of the ceremony, and the departure of the Directory, who returned with the pomp and retinue with which they had arrived. Immediately numerous orchestras crowded the *Champ de Mars*; the people formed themselves into dancing parties, and the rest of the day was spent in mirth and uninterrupted festivity.

While these songs, in honour of the Republican army, resounded on the banks of the Seine, Buonaparté, faithful to his plan of activity, made dispositions for attacking the castle of Milan, and preparing to pursue the remains of the Austrian army, meditated an attack on the dominions of Rome and Naples. On the 20th of May, he published the following energetic Address to his brethren in arms :

“ SOLDIERS !

“ You have precipitated yourselves like a torrent from the summit of the Appenines : you have driven back, and dispersed all who opposed your march—Piedmont, liberated from Austrian tyranny, has yielded to her natural sentiments of peace and amity towards France : Milan is yours, and the Republican flag floats throughout Lombardy, while the Dukes of Parma and Modena owe their political existence solely to your generosity.



“ The army, which so haughtily menaced you, finds no barrier to secure it from your courage : the Po, the Tefino, and the Adda, have been unable to arrest your progress for a single day : these boasted ramparts of Italy have proved insufficient ; you have surmounted them as rapidly as you cleared the Appenines. Such reiterated success has diffused joy through the bosom of your country : your representatives have decreed a festival in honour of your victories, to be celebrated in all the communes of the Republic : there your fathers, your mothers, your wives, your sisters, and your sweethearts, rejoice in your successes, and boast, with pride, of being related to you.—Yes, soldiers ! you have performed much.. .....but remains there nothing more for you to effect ? Shall it be said of us, that we knew how to conquer, but knew not how to profit by victory ? shall posterity reproach us, that Lombardy proved to us what Capua was to Hannibal ?.....No ! I already see you rushing to arms ; an unmanly repose will fatigue you ; the days lost to glory are lost to your happiness. Let us, therefore, depart ; we still have forced marches to perform, enemies to conquer, laurels to gather, and injuries to avenge.

“ Let those tremble who have whetted the poignards of civil war in France, and who have cowardly assassinated our ministers, and burned our ships at Toulon :.....the hour of vengeance has arrived. But let the people be tranquil ; we are the friends of all nations, and more particularly of the descendants of the Brutuses, the Scipios. and the illustrious personages whom we have chosen as models. To restore the Capitol, to replace with honour the statues of the heroes who rendered it renowned, and to rouse the Roman people, become torpid by so many ages of slavery,—such will be the fruit of your victories ; they will form an epoch to posterity, and you will have the immortal glory of renovating the fairest portion of Europe.

“The French nation, free, and respected by all the world, will give to Europe a glorious peace, that will indemnify them for the numerous sacrifices they have made for these six years past. You will then return to your homes; and your fellow-citizens, when pointing to you, will say,—HE WAS OF THE ARMY OF ITALY.”



## CHAPTER V.

CONTINUATION OF BUONAPARTE'S CAMPAIGNS IN ITALY.—*Buonaparté makes an Armistice with the Duke of Modena.—The Natives of Pavia and Milan rise against the French.—The Village of Binasco burned.—Buonaparté's Proclamation to the Milanese.—He enters Pavia, orders the Municipality to be shot, and issues another Proclamation.—Visits the Theatre at Milan.—His Proclamation to the Venetians, on entering their Territories.—The French pass the Mincio.—General Massena takes Verona.—Louis XVIII. leaves Verona.—His Conduct whilst there.—Mantua invested.—Buonaparté issues a Proclamation to the Tyrolse.*

FROM the period of which we are speaking Europe may be supposed to have entered upon a new æra; the ancient political code was trampled under foot by the Conqueror, and instead of that high sense of honour, which would, in former periods, have raised every arm in its defence, and have determined every virtuous mind in Christendom to share the worst of deaths, in preference to the least disgrace: it now became the fashion for courts and cabinets to cringe beneath the French yoke, and to cast about for some apology for abandoning the law of nations. The weakness of the individual states of Italy, was supposed to be a sufficient excuse for the submission of the whole, and the retention of a nominal sovereignty a sufficient compensation for the loss of honour: they thought that unconditional submission would divest the enemy of an hostile motive; for it did not occur to those states, that the power which

would retain its independence the longest, would be that which should defend itself with the most powerful resistance.

The Duke of Modena became more alarmed as the French proceeded: he was, therefore, desirous of peace, and purchased an armistice of Buonaparté at a most excessive price: he agreed to pay to the French Republic 7,500,000 livres, French money; to furnish 2,500,000 livres in provisions, powder, and other military stores, for the French army; and to deliver up 20 paintings, taken from his gallery, or his dominions, to be selected by persons nominated by the French for that purpose.

General Despinoy, the French commandant of Milan, observing on the 24th, that the people were assembling in the suburbs of the city, on the side of Pavia, ordered some troops to march thither, whom the rebels attempted to disarm; but the French detachment, having wounded and taken some of them, put the rest to flight. This movement was combined, and took place at the same moment at Varezza, Pavia, and Lodi. The tocsin was sounded in the country; the peasants assassinated, on the roads, the commissaries and persons employed in the administration; and the garrison left at Pavia, having been surprised in their quarters, were disarmed.

Buonaparté had set out from Milan on the 24th, to repair to Lodi, leaving only at Milan the number of troops necessary for the blockade of the castle. Scarcely had he reached Lodi, when General Despinoy apprised him, that three hours after his departure the tocsin was sounded in Lombardy, and that it was industriously circulated, Nice had been taken by the English, the army of Conde had arrived by

Switzerland, on the confines of the Milanese, and Beaulieu, reinforced with 60,000 men, was on his march to Milan. Everywhere, and by every possible means, the people were called on to arm against the French: the nobles had dismissed their domestics, telling them, that equality did not permit the continuance of their services; and all the partisans of the house of Austria, the Sbirri, and agents of the customs, appeared in the front. The inhabitants of Pavia, reinforced with five or six thousand peasants, invested the citadel, in which there were only 300 French.

At Milan the people destroyed the tree of liberty, tearing in pieces the tri-coloured cockade, and trampling it under foot. General Despinoy, the commander, mounted his horse, whilst some patrols put the populace to flight. The gate leading to Pavia was still in the possession of the rebels, who every moment expected the peasants, whom they meant to introduce into the city: to compel them to submission, a terrible charge was made, and the example of a dreadful death restored tranquillity, but the city was given up to pillage for 24 hours.

The moment Buonaparté was informed of these proceedings, he hastened back with 300 horse, and a battalion of grenadiers. On his arrival at Milan, he ordered a great number of hostages to be arrested, and those persons to be shot who had been taken in arms, at the same time intimating to the archbishop, chapter, monks, and nobles, that they should be responsible for the public tranquillity. The municipality imposed a fine of three livres for every domestic discharged; and order being thus re-established at Milan, Buonaparté proceeded to Pavia.

The chief of brigade, Lafnes, who commanded a moving column, attacked Binasco, which seven or eight hundred armed peasants appeared determined to defend: he charged them, and, having killed about 100, dispersed the rest. Buonaparté ordered the village to be instantly burned, which exhibited a horrible spectacle, and, as he says, extorted many a sigh from the General. He then summoned the archbishop of Milan, and sent him to Pavia, with the following proclamation:

Milan, 6 Prairial, 4th year,  
(25 May, 1796.)

“A misled multitude, destitute of the means of resistance, have been guilty of the greatest excesses in several communes, contemning the Republic, and the brave army, triumphant over so many kings. This inconceivable frenzy merits pity: the unhappy people are led astray, only to conduct them to ruin. The General in Chief, faithful to the principles the French nation have adopted, who do not make war on the people, earnestly wishes to leave a gate open to repentance; but those who, in 24 hours, shall not lay down their arms, and take anew the oath of obedience to the French Republic, shall be treated as rebels, and their villages burned. May the terrible example of Binasco make them open their eyes! its fate shall be that of all the towns and villages which persist in revolt.”

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.”

At day-break, the General, in person, reached Pavia, when the advanced posts of the rebels were driven back. The place was crowded with a multitude of people, and in a state of defence; the castle was taken, and the French troops were prisoners. The General ordered the artillery to advance, and

after some discharges, summoned the insurgents to lay down their arms, and have recourse to French generosity; but they returned for answer, that while Pavia had walls, they would not surrender. General Dammartin formed the 6th battalion of grenadiers in close column, with two eight-pounders in their van; and each man having a hatchet in his hand, the gates were burst open, on which the immense multitude dispersed, and took refuge in caves, and on house-tops, attempting, but in vain, by throwing down tiles, to dispute the entry of the troops into the streets. "Thrice," said Buonaparté, "had the order to set fire to the city expired on my lips, when the garrison of the castle arrived, and hastened with cries of joy to embrace their deliverers. Their names were called over, and none were found missing: if the blood of a single Frenchman had been shed, I had resolved to raise on the ruins of Pavia a column, on which these impressive words were to be inscribed, "*Here stood the city of Pavia!*" Buonaparté ordered the whole municipality to be shot, and 200 hostages to be arrested, and sent immediately into France. The punishments of Buonaparté, for insurrection, were tremendous: the village of Binasco burned, Milan given up to pillage, and many of its principal inhabitants put to death, the Municipality of Pavia shot, after the city being taken, were terrible examples of his severity—Conflagration and bloodshed, were no ordinary or ineffectual means of enforcing the submission of the conquered states.

Buonaparté now issued a proclamation, purporting, that the nobles, the priests, and the agents of Austria, had led astray the inhabitants of these delightful countries; that the French army, as gene-

rous as brave, would treat as brethren the peaceable natives, but that it would be terrible, as the fire of heaven, to rebels, and to the villages that gave them protection. He, therefore, declared all those villages to be in a state of rebellion which had not complied with his order of the 25th; and directed the Generals to march against them the forces necessary to suppress the insurgents, to set fire to them, and to shoot, upon the spot, all who were found with arms in their hands. All priests and nobles, in the rebellious communes, were to be arrested as hostages, and sent into France: all villages where the tocsin was sounded were to be instantly burnt; and the Generals were made responsible for the execution of the order. The villages, in whose territory a single Frenchman was assassinated, were to pay a triple contribution of the sum they annually paid to the Archduke, until they should give up the assassin. Every man found with a musket and ammunition, was to be immediately shot, by order of the General commanding the jurisdiction. Wherever concealed arms were found, the place was to be condemned to pay thrice its usual revenue by way of fine; and every house, where a musket was found, was to be burnt, unless the proprietor should declare to whom the arms belonged. All the nobles and rich persons who should be convicted of exciting the people to revolt, either by discharging their domestics, or by their discourses against the French, were to be arrested as hostages, and carried away to France, and a part of their revenues confiscated.

About this time, Buonaparté attended the theatre at Milan, at the representation of Metastasio's opera of Cato; and the audience, as if desirous to regain



the esteem of a man, whose austerity was equalled only by his power, applauded every passage which they chose to apply to him, and, after the piece, a crown of laurels was placed on his head.

Venice could not recognize a sister in the French Republic, but beheld in it a democracy, to which her own aristocracy was still less accommodating than to Emperors and Kings. Irresolute as to the side she should take, and unwilling to engage in war, she thought a neutrality towards France would save her from all danger, and perhaps only regarded the success of the French in her territories, as the fortunate means of delivering her the sooner from both them and the Imperialists.

Buonaparté before following the Austrians into the Venetian territories, thought proper to address to that government, and its subjects, a proclamation, which stated, that, "To deliver the most beautiful country of Europe, from the iron yoke of the haughty house of Austria, the French army had braved obstacles the most difficult to surmount; that victory, in unison with justice, had crowned their efforts; that the wrecks of the hostile army had retired across the Mincio, and in pursuit of them the French troops had now entered the Venetian territory; but they would not forget that a long amity united the two Republics. Religion, government, usages, and property, would be respected." "Let the people," said the General, "be free from inquietude; the severest discipline will be maintained, and every thing furnished to the army fully paid for in money: he, therefore, required the officers of the Venetian Republic, the magistrates and priests, to make known

his sentiments to the people, in order that confidence might strengthen the friendship which had so long united the two nations. "The French soldier," concluded he, "faithful in the path of honour as in that of victory, is terrible only to the enemies of his liberty and his government."

Since the evening of the 25th, Buonaparté had been at Brescia, occupied in making dispositions, to induce Beaulieu to believe, that his intention was to take him by the head of the lake, in order to cut him off from the road leading to the Tyrol, by way of Riva. At two in the morning, all the divisions were in motion, and directed their march towards Borghetto, where Buonaparté intended to cross the Mincio: they crossed that river, and came to an engagement, wherein the Austrians fought with the utmost bravery, and retreated only after having performed acts of the greatest intrepidity: the Austrians lost 1,500 men, and 500 horse in killed and prisoners: among the latter was the Prince Cuto, Lieutenant-General in the army of the King of Naples, and Commander in Chief of the Neapolitan cavalry. The French also took five pieces of cannon, two of which were twelve pounders, and three six-pounders, with seven or eight waggons loaded with warlike stores. At Castlenuovo several magazines were taken, part of which, however, had been burnt. Thus the Austrians were entirely driven out of Italy, and the French advanced posts reached to the mountains of Germany. In these different engagements nothing could surpass the courage of the French troops, but the gaiety with which they made their forced marches, singing, alternately, songs in praise of their country and of their loves.





*General. Haysen.*

*Pub. by M. Jones, Nov. 7-1816.*

On the 1st of June, the division of General Massena took Verona, which a few days before had been the refuge of Louis-Stanislaus, brother of the last King of the French, and of his little court of Emigrants, to whom the Venetians had not only afforded an asylum, but had given a ready reception. Charles de la Croix, the French minister for foreign affairs, wrote to Quirini, the minister of the Republic of Venice; that he was surprised such a permission had been afforded to the fugitive Prince, who, having communicated the note to the Senate, they returned for answer, That the Republic of Venice, though they could not refuse the rights of hospitality to any one, had yet not transgressed against a proper regard to the Republic of France; that the ancient Committee of Public Safety had expressed their satisfaction, that the ci-devant Count de Provence had remained in the Venetian State, rather than any where else, and they flattered themselves that the Directory would not act contrary to the sentiments and principles of the committee. This explanation appeared to give satisfaction, but the victories of the French army having caused a great impression on the Senate of Venice, the Marquis Carletti was charged by them to signify to the brother of Louis XVI. that he must quit the territory with all possible expedition. To this unexpected notification, for which he had not been in the least prepared, he replied "I will go, but under two conditions: 1. Let the golden book be brought me, in which the names of my family are inscribed, that I may strike mine out with my own hand. 2. Let the armour be delivered to me, which my ancestor, Henry IV. presented to the Republic, as a token of friendship." Both these re-

quests were refused, and he, shortly after, quitted Verona.

The private life of this prince, while he resided at Verona, was singularly regular. At eight in the morning, he was dressed, and wore a sword, and the insignia of the different orders to which he belonged; he passed great part of the morning in writing, and was visible to none, but his chancellor; his table was frugal; after dinner he gave audience to a few particular people, and then shut himself up in his chamber, where he was frequently heard to walk backward and forward in great agitation. Towards the evening, he generally grew more calm, and had a small party of his courtiers, who read to him, and conversed. He never went out, nor paid any visits, either in Verona, or its vicinity. He constantly read the *Moniteur*, and other principal French newspapers, and went by the name of the Count de Lille. Whenever any of his courtiers saluted him with the title of majesty he was observed to sigh heavily.

Buonaparté removed his head quarters to Verona on the 3d of June, where he left a strong garrison, in order to secure the three bridges across the Adige at that place. General Beauvieu, who had been so constantly unfortunate, was succeeded by Marshal Wurmser, who had, indeed, not been much more fortunate, but who had effected more.

After the engagement at Borghetto, the passage of the Mincio, the taking of Peschiera, and the flight of the enemy into the Tyrol, the French invested Mantua, which required a formal siege, and the French had few means wherewith to undertake it. Intending to penetrate into the Tyrol, Buonaparté addressed a manifesto on the 14th of June, to the war-

like people of these lofty mountains. He informed them, that he was to cross their territory, in order to compel the court of Vienna to a peace, as necessary to Europe as to its own subjects. It was their own cause he was to defend, for they had been too long harrassed by the horrors of a war, undertaken, not for the interest of Germany, but to gratify the passions of a single family. The French army respected and loved all nations, and more especially the simple and virtuous inhabitants of the mountains. "Your religion and your usages," said he, "shall be every where respected. Our troops will maintain a severe discipline, and nothing will be taken without being paid for in money. You will receive us with hospitality, and we will treat you with fraternity and friendship; but if there are any so little acquainted with their real interests as to take up arms, and treat us as enemies, we will be terrible as the fire of heaven; we will burn their houses, and devastate the villages which shall take part in a war that is foreign to them. Do not suffer yourselves to be led astray by the agents of Austria. Ensure your country, already harrassed by five years of war, from the misfortunes which must afflict it. Ere long the court of Vienna, forced to accede to peace, shall restore to the nations the privileges which it has usurped, and to Europe the tranquillity it has interrupted."

## CHAPTER VI.

CONTINUATION OF BUONAPARTE'S CAMPAIGNS IN ITALY.—*Commutations in the Imperial Fiefs.—Proclamation issued thereon.—Augereau enters the Papal States, and takes Bologna, &c.—Orïani, the Astronomer. visits Buonaparté.—The French enter Tuscany.—Buonaparté writes to the Grand Duke.—Takes Possession of Leghorn.—Buonaparté's Letter to the Grand Duke on entering Leghorn.—The Grand Duke's Answer.—Buonaparté leaves a Garrison in Leghorn, and visits the Grand Duke at Florence.—Citadel of Milan taken.—Buonaparté concludes an Armistice with the Pope.*

NEW commotions began to arise in the Imperial Fiefs, which border on the states of Genoa, Tuscany, and Piedmont: the communications of the army with the river of Genoa were menaced, the convoys were attacked, and the couriers assassinated. It was necessary also not to lose sight of the castle of Milan, or neglect to carry on the siege of Mantua. The greatest activity was scarcely sufficient for so many operations as were required.

General Lasnes entered the Imperial Fiefs with 1,200 horse, arrested and shot the chiefs of the revolt, and burned their habitations. The same sudden severity was displayed in the environs of Tortona; and a proclamation was issued, and sternly executed. All the seigneurs possessing Imperial fiefs, were directed to repair in person to Tortona, there to take the oath of obedience to the Republic; and, if, within five days after the publication of the order, they should not have done so, their goods were to be



confiscated. The inhabitants were ordered to carry to the military agent at Tortona, within 24 hours after notice, the amount of the military contribution, which was to be augmented one-tenth for each day's delay of payment. All persons, after the lapse of 48 hours, found with arms or ammunition, were to be shot. All the bells, which had been employed in sounding the tocsin, were to be taken down from their steeples, and broke in pieces, within 24 hours after the receipt of the proclamation; and those persons who should neglect to do so would be considered as rebels, and their villages burnt.

The division of General Augereau, having crossed the Po at Borgoforte on the 16th, arrived at Bologna on the 19th, where they found 400 of the Pope's soldiers, who were made prisoners. Buonaparté left Tortona on the 17th, and arrived on the 19th at Modena, from whence he sent orders, by Adjutant-General Vignole, to the garrison of the citadel of Urbino, to open its gates, lay down their arms, and surrender prisoners of war; after this he continued his route to Bologna, which he reached at midnight. The French took in Fort Urbino 50 pieces of cannon, in excellent condition, 500 muskets of calibre, and of a very fine model, and provisions for 600 men for two months. Fort Urbino was in a good state of defence encircled by a wall with covered bastions, and surrounded by ditches full of water, having a covered way newly repaired. It was commanded by a knight of Malta, with 300 men, who were taken prisoners. At Bologna, the cardinal legate was taken, with all the officers of the état-major, and four standards. The cardinal legate of Ferrara, was also taken prisoner with the commandant of that fort, who

was likewise a knight of Malta : in the castle of Ferrara, there were 114 pieces of cannon.

During these military operations, the 20 paintings, which were to be furnished by Parma, were on their way to Paris ; and among them the celebrated one of St. Jerome, which was in such high estimation that a million was offered to redeem it. The paintings from Modena were also on the road, and the citizen Barthelemy was employed in selecting about 50 of the paintings of Bologna, while the naturalists Monge, Bertholet, and Thouin, were engaged at Pavia and Bologna, in collecting plants and other objects of natural history.

At Milan, the celebrated astronomer, Oriani, paid a visit to the Commander in Chief, who had written him a letter by direction of the French government. This attention of Buonaparté conciliated the minds of the learned men of Italy, and attached to the revolution a class of men, who anticipated the loss of their stations, with which they believed this revolution menaced them. “ The sciences,” said Buonaparté in his letter to Oriani, “ which ennoble the human mind, and the arts which embellish life, and transmit illustrious actions to posterity, should be peculiarly respected in free governments. All men of genius,—all those who have obtained a distinguished rank in the republic of letters, are Frenchmen, in whatever country they may have been born. The learned did not enjoy in Milan the consideration to which they are entitled ; retired in the recess of their laboratories, they esteemed themselves happy, if kings and priests were kind enough to do them no harm. To-day it is not so ; opinion is free in Italy ;—the inquisition, intolerance, and despotism, are no more. I

invite the learned to assemble, and propose to me their sentiments on the means necessary to be taken, or the aid they may require, to give new life and existence to the sciences and fine arts. All those who may be desirous of going to France will be received with distinction by the government. The French nation sets a greater value on the acquisition of a learned mathematician, a painter of reputation, or any one who has distinguished himself, whatever may be his profession, than of the richest and most abundant city. Be you, then, Citizen ! the organ of these sentiments to all at Milan distinguished for their learning."

Buonaparté likewise wrote to the municipalities of Pavia and Milan, desiring that the celebrated University of Pavia might resume the course of its studies: he requested them to inform its learned professors, and numerous students, that the French General invited them to repair forthwith to Pavia, and propose to him the measures they might think proper to be taken, to give activity, and a more brilliant existence to that illustrious seminary.

After taking possession of Bologna, a French division had proceeded to Ferrara and Faenza, whose submission promised that of the Romagna; a column of the French army also marched from Reggio, across the Appenines, to Pistoia, and threatened to advance to Rome, by the way of Florence. The intelligence of this march threw the court of the Grand Duke into the greatest alarm: Manfredini, his prime minister, was dispatched to Bologna in great haste, to represent to the French General, that, as a passage through

Tuscany had been lately denied to the troops of Naples, it would be unjust in the French to violate a territory the Allies had respected, and with which France was at peace. The Grand Duke, however, could not prevent the French entering his territories, and could only obtain a promise from Buonaparté, that he would not enter Florence. The French army suddenly changed its route, and marched rapidly towards Leghorn: it is probable; that Manfredini, in his conference at Bologna, had not this expedition confided to him; but Buonaparté, on reaching Pistoia, advertised the Grand Duke of the occurrence by a letter, in which he observed that the flag of the French Republic was constantly insulted in the port of Leghorn, the property of the French merchants violated there, and every day marked by some attempt against the French, as contrary to the interests of the Republic as to the law of nations. The Executive Directory had repeatedly complained to the minister of his Royal Highness, at Paris, who had been obliged to avow the impossibility in which his master found himself of checking the English, and maintaining neutrality in the port of Leghorn. The Directory, therefore, felt it to be their immediate duty to repel force by force, and make their commerce be respected; and, in consequence of this, they had ordered him to send a division of the army, under his command, to take possession of Leghorn: he had, therefore, the honour to inform his Royal Highness, that a division of the army would enter that city on the 28th, but would conduct itself agreeable to the principles of the neutrality it was to maintain; and the flag, the garrison, and the property of his Royal Highness, and his people, would be scrupulously re-

spected. The General was farther charged to assure the Grand Duke of the desire entertained by the French Government to see a continuation of the friendship which united the two states, and of its conviction that his Royal Highness, witnessing the daily excesses committed by the English ships, without being able to prevent them, would applaud the just, useful, and necessary measures, adopted by the Directory.

On the 28th, Buonaparté left Pistoia, and set out to join the column already at the gates of Leghorn. An English frigate, on going out of the harbour, was fired at, but without effect: some hours before the French troops arrived, more than 40 English vessels, fully laden, left Leghorn. The General ordered the Chevalier Spannochi, governor of the city for the Grand Duke, to be arrested: he was conducted to Florence by his own soldiers, and, on his arrival there, sent to prison, by order of the Grand Duke.

Buonaparté informed the Grand Duke of these proceedings in the following letter:

Head-quarters at Leghorn,  
11 Messidor, 4th year (29 June) 1796.

“ ROYAL HIGHNESS,

“ An hour before we entered Leghorn, an English frigate carried off two French ships, valued at 500,000 livres. The Governor, contrary to the intention of your Royal Highness, and the neutrality of the port of Leghorn, suffered them to be taken under the guns of his batteries. I prefer a complaint to your Royal Highness against this man, who in his whole conduct displays a decided hatred towards the French. He yesterday endeavoured, at the moment of our arrival, to incite the people to rise up against

us, and there is no kind of ill treatment he did not make our advanced guard experience. I should, doubtless, have been justified in bringing him to a trial before a military commission, but, from respect to your Royal Highness, and intimately convinced of the spirit of justice which directs all your actions, I have preferred sending him to Florence, and am persuaded you will give orders to have him punished severely. I must, at the same time, return my thanks to your Royal Highness for your goodness, in appointing General Strafaldo to supply the army with every thing necessary ; he has acquitted himself, respecting your Royal Highness' orders, with equal zeal and success. Accept, &c.

BUONAPARTE."

To this letter, the Grand Duke returned the following answer :

" GENERAL,

" General Spannochi, arrested by your order, has been brought hither. It is from a principle of delicacy I keep him in a state of arrest until the motives for this step, which I presume to be just, are made known to me, in order to give you, as well as the French Republic, and all Europe, the strongest proof of equity, conformably to the laws of my country, to which laws I have always made it my duty to submit. I send this letter by the Marquis Manfredini, my Major-domo, whom I request you to inform in what Spannochi has been culpable. You may, besides, repose full confidence in him respecting every object which interests the tranquillity of my subjects. I ardently desire to receive a letter written by yourself, which, in the present circumstances, may completely remove my uneasiness, and at the same time assure the repose of all Tuscany. I am, with perfect esteem,

FERDINAND."

The French consul was ordered by Buonaparté, to put seals on all the English magazines. A strong

garrison, under the command of General Vaubois, was left in the city of Leghorn. Buonaparté, accompanied by Berthier, and a part of the *etat major*, passed through Florence in his return, and was entertained by the Grand Duke very sumptuously. It has been already mentioned, that on the 28th General Buonaparté had directed the consul of the French Republic at Leghorn to put seals on all the magazines belonging to the English; he was also ordered to take similar measures as to those appertaining to the Emperor, the Empress of Russia, and, in general, all the Princes or subjects of states with whom the French were at war; and to employ every means necessary to discover the merchandise deposited in the houses of the different merchants at Leghorn, and take possession of them.

While Buonaparté was at dinner with the Grand Duke at Florence, a courier brought intelligence of the taking of the castle of Milan, with 2,800 prisoners, 150 pieces of cannon, 20,000 pounds of powder, and a great quantity of useful stores. If the young sovereign nominally saved his dominions, his sensibility must have suffered by entertaining, in his palace, a General, whose family had been numbered among his subjects, who had left a garrison in Leghorn, and who had destroyed all the commercial connections subsisting between his friends the English and the only port in his dominions. He had even been compelled to punish the Governor of his principal town, for having, no doubt, been too obedient to his master, and detached from his brother, the Emperor, his Italian dominions. The reduction of the castle of Milan, an-

nounced at the end of the entertainment, must have given additional chagrin to the Grand Duke. When the *ex-conventionalist* and commissioner, Salicetti, passed through Florence, two days after Buonaparté, he received an invitation from his Royal Highness, which he declined.

Buonaparté concluded an armistice, on the 23d of June, with the Pope, on condition—That his Holiness should send, as soon as possible, a plenipotentiary to Paris, to obtain from the Executive Directory a definitive peace, by offering the necessary reparations for the outrages and losses suffered by the French in his territory.—That the ports belonging to the Pope should be shut against the vessels of the powers at war with the Republic, and be open to French ships.—That the French army should continue in possession of the legations of Bologna and Ferrara.—That the citadel of Ancona should be put in the possession of the French within five days, with its artillery and stores.—That the Pope should give up to the French Republic 100 paintings, busts, vases, or statues, in the choice of commissaries, who should be sent to Rome; among these articles, the bust, in bronze, of Junius Brutus, and that in marble, of Marcus Brutus, both placed in the Capitol, should be particularly comprised; and also 500 manuscripts, to be selected by the same commissaries.—And that the Pope should pay to the French Republic 21,000,000 of livres, French money, of which 15,500,000 livres should be in specie, or gold and silver ingots, and the remaining 5,500,000 livres in provisions, merchandise, horses, or oxen, as should be determined by the agents of the French Republic.



## CHAPTER VII.

CONTINUATION OF BUONAPARTE'S CAMPAIGNS IN ITALY.—*The British take the Island of Elba.—Buonaparté projects, and executes, the Reduction of Corsica to France.—Wurmser reinforced.—Farther Successes of the French.—Insurrections in the Romagna.—Lugo delivered up to pillage by Augereau.—Siege of Mantua proceeds.—Wurmser raises the Siege, Defeats the French, and drives them from Verona.—Popular dislike to the French in Italy.—Pasquinade on Buonaparté.—The Directory jealous of his Power.—His Letters to the Directory and to General Clarke.—Battle of Castigliona.—Engagement at Gavardo.—Buonaparté narrowly escapes being taken at Lonado; and, by a Stratagem, obtains the Surrender of Four Thousand Imperialists.*

WHILST the victorious Republicans were laying princes and empires prostrate before the tricoloured flag, the British ministry were nibbling at the petty islets and shoals, that France did not think it worth while to protect. On the 9th of July, 1796, a British squadron appeared off Porto-Ferrajo, on the island of Elba, and summoned it to surrender. Next day, in the morning, a considerable detachment effected a landing, and took possession of the desolated fort of St. John Baptist, and the top of an adjacent hill, where they erected a battery, which commanded the town. Two letters were brought to the Governor by two officers, accompanied by a drum, one of them from Sir Gilbert Elliot, and another from Major Duncan, who com-

manded the expedition. The Governor immediately called an assembly, and, having laid before it the contents of the letters, the resolution finally adopted was, that the place, being destitute of provisions, and without a force sufficient to cope with their antagonists, it would be most advisable to surrender, on particular conditions. Next day, these were proposed to the British commander, and finally accepted: these conditions were five in number; and the terms Sir Gilbert Elliot most scrupulously observed.

The French General, unwilling, in the sequel, to have his policy confounded with that of the second-rate statesman, to whom he was opposed, directed his attention and talents to the deliverance of his Native Country, by means of a secret expedition. To facilitate the reduction of Corsica appears to have been the principal object in first taking possession of Leghorn, although Buonaparté, no doubt, likewise intended by this measure to destroy the British commerce carried on in that port. The garrisons in Corsica belonging to Great Britain had been in a miserable situation for some months previous to their being evacuated, inasmuch, that the soldiers were under the necessity of continuing in their quarters. The Viceroy was arrested, while making the tour of the island, and only liberated on the express condition, that he would withdraw his forces from the interior parts of the country. The inhabitants also refused to pay the duties imposed upon them, or, in any shape, to acknowledge the authority of the British government. The Republicans, from Leghorn, carried thither abundant supplies of provisions, and gave them instructions as to their subsequent conduct. On receiving intelligence that the British troops seriously intended to

evacuate the island, as no longer tenable, General Gentili, the commandant at Leghorn, dispatched Casatta with a body of men, who effected a landing on the 18th of October: the day following, he was joined by a numerous body of partisans of France, at the head of whom he began a rapid march towards Bastia, where he arrived on the 20th, and made himself master of the heights. Powerfully aided by the inhabitants, he sent a summons to the Commander of the fort to surrender to the French Republic, allowing him only one hour to deliberate. The garrison, being alarmed at the idea of having their communication with the sea entirely cut off, began a precipitate flight, and got on board their ships. General Casatta, on this occasion, took several hundred prisoners, a considerable portion of whom were Emigrants, and got possession of several magazines, which the rapidity of their flight prevented them from carrying off. From Bastia the Republican General proceeded to St. Fiorenza, with two pieces of cannon, and succeeded in reducing the town: he made most of the garrison prisoners, and took some mortars and pieces of cannon, which the English were not allowed time to spike.

The British squadron in the bay moved without the reach of the Republican cannon; and the Viceroy, with the troops he had been able to carry off from Bastia, took refuge in Porto-Ferrajo. The French likewise made prisoners of the garrison of Bonifacio, which was immediately followed by the capture of Ajaccio; and, without further opposition, the whole island became subject to the Republicans, after the arrival of Gentili in person, at the head of the whole Corsican refugees on the continent. Thus,

in less than three weeks, were the British forces driven from the island of Corsica, and under the necessity of giving up the Gulph of St. Fiorenzo, where they had been enabled to do considerable injury to the French Republic. Some ships of war could not be got out of the port of Ajaccio, but were burnt by the French. A minister was directly sent from the Republic, for the purpose of giving to Corsica another constitution.

When Corsica was evacuated by the British and Emigrants a treaty of peace was signed between the Republic and Naples: it was mutually agreed, that neither of the contracting parties should furnish troops, ships, money, or other assistance to their enemies, under any pretext whatever, and that the earliest and most favourable opportunity should be embraced for concluding between them such a commercial treaty as might be for the advantage of them both. His majesty the king of the two Sicilies pledged himself to observe the strictest neutrality with respect to the whole of the belligerent powers, and admit none of their ships of war into any of his ports, if they exceeded four in number. His ports were to be open to all trading vessels belonging to the Republic, independent of their numbers, but their ships of war were to be restricted to four.

It will be remembered, that Buonaparté formerly granted an armistice to the Duke of Parma, which was now to be converted into an amicable treaty of peace, under the mediation of the King of Spain, and in the person of the Marquis del Campo, his plenipotentiary at Paris. The substance of this treaty was nearly the same as that between France and the King of the Two Sicilies. The Duke was to grant a free passage through his dominions to the

troops of the Republic, but to refuse the same privilege to the forces of any of the Combined Powers at war with France. The Pope was not so successful in his attempts to treat with the Republic; for, although he was totally incapable of contending with so formidable an enemy; when Marshal Wurmser gained any partial successes he had disdained to think of a treaty with France; but, when Buonaparté was everywhere triumphant, he appeared to change his tone and behaviour: the Directory, therefore, did not think it proper to close with his Holiness till they had humbled him still further.

Wurmser had assembled in the Tyrol the wrecks of the Austrian army, and received powerful reinforcements, while Buonaparté was employed in his expedition to Leghorn and against the States of the Pope. After the engagement of Borghetto the Imperialists retreated to the mountains, with an intent to dispute the passes of the Tyrol: they had drawn lines from the head of the lake of Garda to the Adige, and fortified them with infinite labour. Massena directed General Joubert to attack the Imperialists by the Bochetta di Campion, while the chief of battalion, Marchand, turned the enemy by the right: the French climbed up the steep and rugged rocks, killed 100 men, and took 200 prisoners, with 400 tents, and all the baggage. During this, the chief of battalion, Recco, turned the enemy by the left, and, having carried the important post of Belona, killed 300 men, and took 70 prisoners; in consequence of this the Austrians abandoned their entrenchments. Such was the issue of the first battle that took place between the two armies since the new General had assumed the command.

Some days after the attack of the Austrian entrenchments insurrections appeared in the Romagna. General Augereau ordered a great body of troops, both infantry and cavalry, to set out, with cannon and waggons amply supplied. A numerous phalanx presented themselves, and, on the morning of the 6th, were attacked by a column of the Republican troops, at two points, the one on the side of Imola, and the other on the side of Argenta. The defence was terrible and obstinate; but, after an engagement of three hours, disorder was effected amongst the insurgents, and part were cut to pieces, and part saved themselves by flight: the town of Lugo was afterwards surrounded, and delivered up, for three hours, to be pillaged by the troops. All was devastation, and every individual found in arms was put to death. The army returned with an immense booty; and Bologna exhibited the spectacle of one of the richest fairs that had been witnessed for many years, the plunder being exposed there for sale.

General Augereau, on his return, circulated an energetic proclamation: he declared, that every person, who should not deliver up his arms within 24 hours, should be shot. Every town or village, in which a Frenchman was assassinated, should be burned; that an inhabitant, convicted of firing on a Frenchman, should be shot, and his house burned; if a village armed, it was to be reduced to ashes; all assemblages, with or without arms, were strictly prohibited, and every leader of revolt was to be immediately put to death.

The siege of Mantua was now hotly pressed forward: the garrison made a most gallant resistance. About 4,000 men, on the 16th of July, sallied from

two of the gates, and drove in all the advanced posts of the French, and afterwards retreated, without much loss, into the city. On the 18th, at eleven at night, General Serrurier ordered General Murat and Adjutant-General Vignole, with 2,000 men, to attack the right of the Austrian entrenched camp; while General D'Allemagne, at the head of a strong column, attacked the left. Andreossi, chief of battalion of artillery, with five gun-boats, gave a false alarm to the enemy, and, by attracting a great part of their fire, enabled the Generals D'Allemagne and Murat to carry disorder into the enemy's ranks. During this, Chasselloup, chief of brigade of engineers, within 80 toises of the town, and under a fire of grape-shot from the ramparts, directed the opening of the trenches. At the same instant, the batteries of St. George, Pradella, and La Favorite, began to play against the fortrefs: the two first mounted six pieces of cannon, of large calibre, for firing red-hot balls, and six large mortars; and the last, intended to break off all the communication between the town and citadel, consisted of eight pieces of heavy artillery. Soon after the batteries opened, several parts of the town were on fire; and the custom-house, the palace of Colloredo, and several convents, were reduced to ashes. At day-break, when the trenches were but imperfectly traced, the Austrians, collecting a part of their forces, made a sally, under cover of a dreadful fire from the ramparts; but the Republicans, concealed in ravines, posted behind banks, and occupying every hollow which could afford them protection from the enemy's fire, waited for them in silence, and annoyed them from their

concealed situations : the Imperialists returned within the walls, and the French, in the following night, succeeded in completing their trenches.

General Berthier, by direction of the Commander in Chief, had summoned the Governor to surrender, observing, that as he was attacked on all sides, he could not long be in a condition to defend the town, and that an ill-judged obstinacy would entirely ruin the unfortunate city ; the laws of war, therefore, imperiously prescribed to him to surrender it : but, if contrary to expectations, he should persevere in his resistance, he would be held responsible for the blood thus uselessly shed, and for the destruction of the place : a conduct which should compel the French General to treat him with all the rigours of war. The Count Canto D'Irles, General Commandant, replied, that the laws of honour and of duty compelled him to defend, to the last extremity, the city entrusted to his command.

The Field Marshal Wurmser, on the 29th, directed a column towards Salo, from which place, and also from Brescia, he succeeded in dislodging the French, whilst another division of his army forced their post at La Corona, and, passing between the Lake of Garda and the Adige, compelled the French army to evacuate Verona, and also to raise the siege of Mantua : by these successes the Austrians gained an immense quantity of artillery and stores, which the French left behind them in their flight.

Buonaparté, indefatigable both in body and mind, had the art of inspiring his troops with a degree of enthusiasm which nothing could resist ; yet his excessive severity rendered the French so unpopular in



Italy, that, upon the first successes of Wurmser, before Buonaparté left the siege of Mantua, the French army was everywhere received with execration and insult; their sick and wounded were refused waggon to convey them to their quarters, and many expired on the road, covered with blood and dust; the peasants frequently spat in their faces, and insulted them in the agonies of death: their superstition represented the French as infidels, whom it was their duty to drive from their country.

The aid of satire was added to that of superstition; Pasquin and Marforio contributed their share to the general contempt. On the statue of Marforio was written, "*Si dice che i Francesi sono tutti ladroni*;" to which Pasquin replies, "*Non tutti, ma, buona parte.*" A pun can scarcely be translated, but this may, perhaps, be understood: "They say the French are all rascals:" "No, not all, but *Buona-parte.*" These words, which, put together, make the name of the French General, when separate, mean "a great many."

Buonaparté, about this time, began to excite alarm among the friends of liberty in France: in his dispatches to the Directory, he had, of late, omitted the usual form of conclusion, "*Salut et respect.*"—"Salut" only appeared to the dispatches of Buonaparté, whilst the other Generals closed theirs in the ordinary way. Rœderer, one of the principal journalists, expressed his apprehensions at the critical situation in which the Republic was placed, by Generals providing for their armies with the spoils of conquered countries, when the necessities of the state prevented them from receiving supplies from home, and he cited the examples of Sylla,

Marius, and Cæsar, who conquered the liberties of their country by dispersing among their armies the treasures they had amassed.

The Directory, who were themselves not exempt from jealousy at Buonaparté's successes, saw that he was too powerful for their controul; and, therefore, lest the language of the journals might have irritated his mind, they addressed to him a letter, which, by the anxiety it expressed to efface any suspicion he might have entertained of their esteem, was well calculated to make known their fears, and their consciousness of their own weakness: it discussed, at great length, the improbability of the journalists being any thing more than mere calumniators of his high reputation, which the Directory declared they were desirous of strenuously defending. "You enjoy, citizen General," continues their letter, "the confidence of the Directory, and the services, which you daily render, give you a title to it. The vast debt the Republic owes to your victories, evinces that you are occupied solely with the glory and interests of your country: on this subject all good citizens are unanimous, and you will have no difficulty to abandon the vaunting and calumnies of others, to the contempt, which of themselves, they deserve, on account of the spirit that dictates them."

This letter of the Directory was severely criticised by La Cretelle, another journalist, who denounced the Directory. meanness, in defending Buonaparté against the attack of a newspaper, and condescending to flatter a victorious General, who had evidently excited their jealousy: he shewed also, with great force and justice, the cruelty of ingratitude on the one hand, and idolatry on the other,

to successful Generals. "The tribute of inconsiderate homage to these great men," says he, "may, one day be the ruin of their country; let us, therefore, say, little about those of whom posterity will say much—let, us be reserved rather than ungrateful; the legions which exalted the glory of Rome, would not have been dangerous to her liberty if she had not intoxicated their Generals by excessive adulation and praise." These remarks evidently caused a strong impression on the mind of Buonaparté; his answer to the Directory, and his letter to General Clarke, on the death of his nephew, evince his chagrin.

"CITIZEN DIRECTORS,

"I have received, with gratitude, the fresh proof of your esteem, which you have shewn me by your letter of the 18th Thermidor :

"I know not what these gentlemen want with me; they and the Austrians have attacked me both together, but you have silenced them by the publication of your letter; and I have done for the Austrians; thus, at one and the same time, these double attacks of my enemies have failed.

(Signed)

BUONAPARTE."

#### LETTER TO GENERAL CLARKE.

"Your nephew, Elliot, was killed on the field of battle at Arcola: that young man was familiarized to arms, and has many times marched to victory at the head of his troops. He must, one day or other, have become a great officer: he died gloriously in the face of the enemy, and suffered not for a moment. What reasonable man will not envy him such a death? Who is he, that, amidst the vicissitudes of life, will not be thankful thus to quit a world so frequently contemptible? Who is he, among us, that

has not regretted a hundred times, not to be thus withdrawn from the powerful effects of calumny, and of all the malevolent passions, which seem almost exclusively to govern the world?

(Signed)

BUONAPARTE.

The victories of Wurmser placed the French armies in a very critical situation. On the 1st of August, the whole army advanced, during which the Austrians detached a considerable force to Castigliona, where General Valette had been left with 1,800 men to defend that important post, and thereby to keep the division of Wurmser at a distance; but, on the evening of the 2d, Valette was completely defeated, and he escaped with only half his troops to Monte-Chiaro. Buonaparté, vexed by the unfortunate issue of this affair, instantly suspended General Valette.

General Wurmser having crossed the Mincio, both armies faced each on the morning of the 3d. The Imperialists, instead of waiting the attack of the French, surrounded the advanced guard of General Massena, near Castigliona, and took General Pigeon prisoner, with three pieces of flying artillery. The French hoped to penetrate the Austrian line, and the latter extended it for the purpose of surrounding the French: the Imperialists were thrown into disorder, and made their retreat to Salo; but, finding that place in the hands of the French, wandered through the mountains, where many of them were taken. Meantime General Augereau having marched to Castigliona, took that place, and during the whole day, maintained several obstinate actions with the enemy, who fought with great bravery.

On the 4th General Despinoy was ordered to pe-

penetrate into the Tyrol, by the road of Chiufa. General Dallemagne, at the head of a battalion of the 11th demi-brigade, advanced to Gavardo, but was compelled to retreat with much loss. General St. Hilaire was sent to Salo, to act in concert with General Guieux, to attack the enemy's division at Gavardo, and free the road leading to the Tyrol; when, after a brisk fire of musketry, the Imperialists retreated with the loss of some prisoners.

General Wurmser collected the remains of his army, and drew up in order of battle, on the plain between the village of Scanello, which supported his right, and La Chiefa, which covered his left. Buonaparté gave orders to concentrate all the columns of the army, and hastened, in person, to Lonado, to ascertain the number of troops he could detach from it; but on arriving there, a messenger summoned the commandant at Lonado to surrender, which was completely surrounded. Buonaparté, seeing the danger, had recourse to a stratagem: he had but a few hundred men at Lonado, and the place must have surrendered: he ordered the Messenger to be brought before him, and the bandage taken from his eyes; Buonaparté told him, that if his General indulged the vanity of thinking to take the Commander in Chief of the army of Italy, he had only to advance; that he ought to know the latter was at Lonado, as every one knew the Republican army was at that place; and that all the general and superior officers belonging to the division should be responsible for the personal insult he had been guilty of towards the General in Chief. He then assured the Messenger, that if his division did not, in the space of eight minutes, lay down their arms, he would shew no mercy to any of them. The

officer appeared confounded at finding the General present, and returned with his answer. Every preparation was now affected to be made for attacking the enemy, when, in an instant, the whole column, consisting of 4,000 men, with four pieces of cannon, and three standards, laid down their arms! A singular instance of the successful termination of an affair, that was occasioned by an extraordinary and well-timed presence of mind in a critical moment.



## CHAPTER VIII.

*Engagement at Peschiera.—Buonaparté re-enters Verona.—The Austrians destroy the Works before Mantua, and take immense Quantities of Stores.—Insurrections at Cremona.—The French evacuate Ferrara, which is retaken by the Pope.—Dislike of the Populace at Rome to the French.—Miracles of the Holy Virgin at Genoa.—Mantua again blockaded.—The Standards taken by the Army of Italy presented to the Directory.—Engagement at Serravalle.—Battle of Roveredo.—The French enter Trent.—Buonaparté's Proclamation to the Tyrolese.—He organises the Principality of Trent.*

**BUONAPARTE** being assured of the entire destruction of all the hostile corps from Gavardo and Salo, on the morning of the 5th of August, ordered the whole army to make a retrograde movement, whilst General Serrurier's division advanced from Marcaria, with an intent to turn General Wurmser's left. This movement had, in some degree, the desired effect, and Wurmser extended his right wing to observe their rear. The moment Buonaparté perceived General Serrurier's division under the command of General Fiorella, who attacked the left, he ordered Adjutant-General Verdière to attack a redoubt, which the Austrians had constructed in the middle of the plain, to support their left. He also directed his aide-camp, Marmont, to take the management of 20 pieces of light artillery. General Augereau attacked the enemy's centre, supported by the tower of Scannello, while Massena attacked the right: all the cavalry, under General Beaumont, proceeded to the

right, in order to support the light artillery and infantry. The French were victorious, and obtained 18 pieces of cannon, and 120 ammunition waggons. The Austrians lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about 2,000 men. The activity of Buonaparté during the last week, had been incessant, and, it is said, that he took no sleep during the whole of that period.

On the morning of the 6th of August, Augereau and Massena obliged the Austrians to raise the siege of Peschiera, and to abandon the line of the Mincio. On the 7th, Augereau passed the Mincio at Peschiera, while the division of General Serrurier advanced to Verona, and arrived there at 10 at night, the very moment the division under General Massena had recovered its former position: the rear guard of the Austrians was still at Verona, the gates of which were shut, and the drawbridges raised. The Provveditor of the Venetian Republic having been summoned to open them, answered, that he could not comply till after the lapse of two hours: Buonaparté, therefore, ordered the gates to be burst open with cannon-shot. The French seized all the stores of different kinds in the place, and afterwards resumed their former position, while the Imperialists retreated through the Tyrol. The blockade of Mantua having been raised by Wurmser, its garrison succeeded in destroying the works of the French, and carried into the place 140 pieces of heavy artillery, which the latter had left in their trenches, with provisions for a considerable period.

On the news of the successes of the Austrians, it was supposed that victory had abandoned the Republican standards. Considerable agitation was produced





General Tupper

Publ by M. J. and S. 1815.



at Cremona, Casal Maggiore, and two villages in the environs of this last town. At Cremona, after the surprise of Brescia, it was proposed to preserve the tree of liberty, in order to hang on it those who had assisted in the ceremony of planting it. At Casal Maggiore, the Commandant, as he was going to embark, was insulted. His embarkation was violently opposed, and, in endeavouring to escape, he rushed into the river, and there met death. On the 31st of July, the French garrison in the citadel of Ferrara, suddenly left it, after having spiked their cannon, and thrown into the river the ammunition they could not carry off: tranquillity was maintained there until the arrival of the Vicelegate, which excited as much surprise as the departure of the French troops. His entry was modest, but he having replaced on the gate of the public palace the Papal arms, the Municipality and national guards repaired immediately to the place, when the papal arms were again pulled down, and replaced by those of the Republic. On the first news of the victories of the French, the Vicelegate returned to Rome; by the armistice concluded at Bologna, that city and Ferrara were to continue in the possession of the French.

On the 7th, three French Commissaries at Rome, walking in a public garden, were surrounded by a crowd of spectators, some of whom insulted them by hissing and slanderous language. In the afternoon of the following day the Secretary of the commission, and a painter, also attached to it, stopped to view the column of Trajan; when in an instant a crowd of boys assailed them with a shower stones: on this, they endeavoured to save themselves, by gaining the first street, but were followed by a multitude,

exclaiming, *Kill them! they are Frenchmen—they are Commissaries!* they were soon surrounded by an infuriated populace, some of them armed with stones and bludgeons. One of the Commissaries, perceiving a man approaching, with a knife in his hand, presented a pistol, and succeeded in keeping the assassin at a distance. Lieutenant Dandini, passing at the moment, conducted the two Frenchmen to the hotel of the Governor. The latter excused the people of Rome, by alledging, that the *false* intelligence respecting the French had occasioned this insult. The Commissary demanded of the Governor, if he thought the new victories gained by the French gave *them* a right not to observe their treaties with the Pope: the patrols were doubled, especially in the quarter inhabited by the French, and several persons concerned in these disorders were arrested.

On the 9th, about mid-day, a courier arrived, dispatched by General Berthier, to the Citizen Miot, at Florence, and sent forward by the latter to the Chevalier Azzara, the Spanish Ambassador at Rome: He brought accounts very favourable to the French; but the general prejudice believed him to be a man sent on purpose from the neighbourhood of Rome, to prevent credit being given to the former reports. In the afternoon, two Frenchmen were again insulted: the minister Cacault wished to dispatch a courier to Paris, to inform the Directory of these indecencies, but the Chevalier Azzara besought him to forbear, and promised to use every means to obtain proper satisfaction from the Pope. His Holiness did not wish to believe that his subjects could be so insolent: the Secretary of State, however, issued an order to increase the number of patrols near the

residence of the commissaries, who immediately assembled at a place of rendezvous. The Chevalier Azzara wrote to the Pope a billet, in which he warned his Holiness, for the last time, that the public good required the dismissal of the Fiscal Barberi. The Pope made no reply to this billet, but intimated to Cardinal Busca, a Milanese, that he had appointed him Secretary of State in place of Cardinal Zelada: it seems the Pope, by making choice of a Cardinal attached to Spain for minister, wished to follow the counsels of the Chevalier Azzara: the French minister, Cacault, peremptorily demanded, that the government should punish those who had insulted the French Commissaries. The chief of these, a huntsman of Cardinal Altieri, escaped: the government determined to condemn the Seigneur to death, and his accomplices to the galleys, and at the same time, rigorously to maintain the edict published to guarantee the safety of the French.

At Genoa some new miracles, operated by the *Holy Virgin*, announced that the termination of the successes of the Republican armies was at last arrived, and that they were on the point of being expelled from Italy; and the Italians, friendly to Austria, congratulated themselves on the reverses of the French army. The French army vigorously harrassed General Wurmser in his retreat, who fixed his headquarters two leagues on the other side of Trent, after burning part of the flotilla he had established on the Lake of Garda, and evacuating Riva. This allowed the French time to restore order in the divisions of the army, to concentrate their force, and to exchange the prisoners, whom the successes of the Imperialists had

obtained. After several very obstinate encounters, the blockade of Mantua was again commenced, by the division of General Sahuguet.

The Directory, in its public sitting on the 27th of August, received the standards taken by the army of Italy; on which occasion the Citizen Dutailis, Aid-de-camp of General Berthier, was charged with presenting them :

“ The Austrians,” said he, in his address to the Directory, “ after receiving considerable reinforcements, attacked some French posts, and made themselves masters of them. Proud of these first attempts, they had announced to all Italy, that they would soon not reckon a single Republican in the country; yet, but four days after this, they witnessed the successes of the French: the latter united, and attacked, in their turn, this army, victorious for a moment, formidable by its numbers, and the last hope of Austria. In four days more, they totally defeated the Imperial troops, with the loss of all their artillery; and Wurmser, like Beaulieu, found in Italy the brave men, who, in 1792, defied both at Jemmappe. These glorious successes were owing to the bravery and intrepidity of the French soldiers, and to the skilful dispositions and indefatigable activity of the youthful Citizen General Buonaparté; night and day at their head, partaking in their dangers, their fatigues, and their privations, he conducted their attacks, directed their courage, and everywhere opened to them the road to victory. The soldiers had to regret the loss of brave and intrepid comrades, but they had perished worthy of the sacred cause they had defended.”

The Citizen Revelliere Lepaux, President of the Directory, in reply, expressed the lively satisfaction with which the Executive Directory received these trophies of victory. “ Brave warrior!” said he, “ re-

turn to your companions in arms ; tell them that the national gratitude strives to emulate their services, and that they may reckon on the esteem of their fellow-citizens, as well as on the admiration of posterity."

The Austrian army, notwithstanding these defeats, prepared to revenge its disasters ; but its bravery, and the good dispositions made by its General, were again constrained to yield to the genius of Buonaparté. The French proceeded to Verona, where they learned that the Imperialists had marched, with two-thirds of their forces, towards Bassano, and with the other third, occupied Alla ; they hastily marched forward, and, on the 4th of September, about six in the morning an engagement began with Massena's division, and at the same instant, the head of the column of General Vaubois, advancing from Torbola, attacked the Imperialists in their position on the right bank of the Adige, in the village of Serravalle : the contest was terrible on both sides ; the two divisions of the French army, separated by the Adige, seemed contending in emulation of each other ; infantry, cavalry, artillery, officers of the *etat-major*, aides-de-camp, and, in fine, every individual of the army, performed prodigies of valour ; and the enemy, after two hours obstinate fighting, quitted their position at Marco, on the left of the Adige, and at the same time penetrated on the right of the river, retreated to Roveredo, availing themselves of all the defensive posts, which the nature of the ground afforded them at every step.

Buonaparté ordered the General of brigade, Rampon, to pass, with the 32d, between Roveredo and the Adige, while General Victor entered the town at

charge-step, the Austrians still falling back, and leaving a great number of dead and prisoners. Meanwhile General Vaubois had forced the entrenched camp at Mori; and pursued the enemy on the other bank of the Adige. The Imperialists were beaten in all points, but, profiting of the difficulties of the country, made head at every defile, and effected their retreat to Trent, with the loss of three pieces of cannon, and many prisoners. While General Massena rallied all the demi-brigades, and gave his troops a moment of repose, the Imperialists rallied in front of Calliano, to cover Trent, and give time to their headquarters to evacuate it: their left was supported by an inaccessible mountain, and their right, on the Adige, by a strong wall, with embrasures, where they had planted several pieces of artillery. General Dammartin advanced eight pieces of light artillery to commence a cannonade, and having found an excellent position, took the defile obliquely, while General Pigeon proceeded with the light infantry on the right. Three hundred riflemen, posted on the banks of the Adige, maintained a brisk fire, while three demi-brigades, forming in close column by battalions, passed the defile. The Imperialists, staggered by the dreadful fire of the artillery, and harrassed by the riflemen, retreated; the French pursued them within three miles of Trent. In this battle the French took 4,000 prisoners, 20 pieces of cannon, 40 waggons, seven standards, and a vast number of cavalry and artillery horses.

In the night, Vaubois's division crossed the Adige, and effected its junction, and on the morning of the 5th, Massena entered Trent, after exchanging a few cannon shot with the enemy's rear guard. Buona-



parté, learning that the Imperialists held a formidable position at Lavis, behind the river Lavisio, on the road to Botzen, attacked the Austrians in person, with his vanguard. His progress, however, was arrested by the gallant defence of the enemy; but the head of Vaubois' division arriving, the passage of the bridge at Lavis was effected, and the enemy's entrenchments in the village were forced.

The French General, before his entrance into the Tyrol, issued the following proclamation:

“ TYROLESE !

“ You solicit the protection of the French army, but you must render yourselves worthy of this; since the majority are well disposed, you must compel the obstinate few to submit, as their conduct tends only to draw on their country all the rage of war.

“ The superiority of the French arms is now decided: the ministers of the Emperor, purchased with the gold of England, betrayed him. This unfortunate Prince cannot proceed one step without doing himself an injury.

“ You wish for peace, the French fight for it: we pass your territory only to oblige the court of Vienna to comply with the wish of desolated Europe, and listen to the complaints of its subjects. We do not come to aggrandise ourselves; nature has traced our boundary by the Rhine, and the Alps, while she has placed Tyrol as the limits of the house of Austria.

“ Tyrolese ! whatever your past conduct may have been, return to your homes, and quit standards, so often unsuccessful. There are no longer enemies whom the conquerors of the Alps, and of Italy, can dread; but there are still some, whom the generosity of the French nation enjoins me to endeavour to spare. The French have rendered themselves formidable in battle, but they are the friends of those who receive them with hospitality.

‘ The religion, customs, and property of the communes that submitted will be respected; but the communes, whose companies of Tyrolese have not returned on the arrival of the French army, will be burned, and the inhabitants taken as hostages, and conveyed to France. When a commune has submitted, the syndics shall be bound to give in at the same time, a list of its inhabitants in the Emperor’s pay, and if they compose part of the Tyrolean companies, their houses shall be immediately burned, and their relations, to the third degree, arrested and sent away to France. Every Tyrolean taken with arms in his hands, shall be instantly shot.

“ The Generals of division are charged with the strict execution of this proclamation.

(Signed)

BUONAPARTE.”

On Buonaparte’s arrival at Trent, he organised an administration for the Principality: he directed, that all acts should be in the name of the French Republic. All strangers, of whatever country they might be, holding public employments, were obliged to quit the territory of Trent in 24 hours, and the Council were desired to replace them by natives of the country. The Commandant-General of the place was to hold the office of Captain of the city, and the council was charged with the execution of the decree on their responsibility.

CHAPTER IX.

CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY.—*Weak Policy of the Combined Powers.—Commencement of the Campaign in Germany.—General Wurmser defeated at Altkirchen.—The French also defeated, and recross the Rhine.—Kleber defeated.—The Austrians defeated at Frankendal by Moreau.—The French take the Islands of the Rhine. Prince of Condé defeated at Wilsedt.—The Austrians retreat, and are defeated at Malsch, &c.—The French take Frankfort.—The Archduke compelled to retreat.—Various Successes of the French and Austrians.—The French take Wurtzburgh, Forcheim, Rotenburgh, &c.—Armistice with Wirtemberg, Suabia, Baden, Bavaria, &c.*

THE victories of the army of Italy, served at once to persuade all mankind, that the French troops were invincible, and to inspire those troops themselves with an idea, that they were guided by a Genius somewhat more than mortal; yet are those conquests not to be ascribed so much to the mind, which was the immediate means of achieving, and the severity which secured them, as to the egotism and obstinacy, the want of combination and intelligence, in the cabinets of the Allies. Not only were the successes of the French in Italy unforeseen and unprovided for, but their consequences were not calculated upon after they had been half accomplished. The Combined Powers had been dreaming during the armistice on the northern frontier, and their imaginations were so flushed with the ideal glories that they should acquire upon the banks of the Rhine, that they did not think it worth while to interrupt the ca-

reer of the young General of the French in Italy, till they should find leisure to chace him for their amusement.

All the hopes of the campaign were centered in the Archduke Charles, and all the former blunders of the war were this year to be repaired by the heroism and talents of this Prince: it was known that the French had drawn considerable supplies from the armies of the North and of the Rhine, to reinforce the army of Italy, but this was regarded as a favourable circumstance, which only served to render victory more certain in the quarter where it was intended to seek it; and so few doubts were entertained of the speedy subjugation of France, that the Combined Powers only suffered the armistice to continue, till the return of fine weather should enable them to take a pleasant march to Paris.

On the 23d of May, 1796, the Austrian Commander in Chief, informed General Jourdan, that the armistice was to terminate, and that hostilities would commence on the last day of that month. General Jourdan accordingly began his march with the army of the Sambre and Meuse, when General Marceau repulsed the advanced posts of the Austrians on the right bank of the Nahe, and the French General, Championet was equally successful in forcing their cantonment at Nidder Diebach. General Kleber, on the same day, marched towards the Sieg, and on the following day, 1st June, obtained a victory over the Austrians, who lost 2,400 men, including wounded and prisoners.

After this action the Imperial troops retreated towards Ukareth, which was a formidable position; but, by the powerful assistance of Lefebvre and Colaud,

General Kleber, after much difficulty and various attempts, was successful in turning their encampment, which compelled them to retreat to Altenkirchen, being covered by two or three squadrons on the heights behind Ukareth. The Austrian position at Altenkirchen was defended by 20,000 men; it was nevertheless obliged to yield to Republican intrepidity, after a desperate contest, in which the Austrians lost 3,000 men, 12 pieces of cannon, four standards, a number of waggons, and a considerable part of their baggage. At Hachenborg, Neuwied, and Dierdorff, the French got possession of vast quantities of provisions, which was of infinite value in such a barren country. After this victory General Kleber took his route towards the Lahn, and General Jourdan laid siege to Ehrenbreitstein, after crossing the Rhine at Neuwied, by means of bridges which he threw across that river: this progress induced the Archduke to march the greater part of his troops from the left bank of the Rhine, and proceed with the utmost dispatch to the upper Lahn. While Lefebvre was making every effort to cross the Lahn and the Dylle at the head of the advanced guard, on the 14th he came to an engagement with the Austrian advanced guard, commanded by General Werneck, whom he repulsed, after an obstinate opposition. He then began to cannonade the Imperialists; but the Archduke, having received intelligence of Werneck's defeat, dispatched a considerable body of cavalry to engage the Republican General, who, after a long and desperate contest, retreated upwards of two miles, and the approach of night put a period to the conflict. The French General, then, raised the siege of Ehrenbreitstein, and re-crossed the Rhine. Four di-

visions of his army took the route to Neuwied, while the remaining two marched to Dusseldorff and Cologne.

The Archduke, with his whole army, pursued Lefebvre on the 16th, and, three days after, General Kray, with 32 squadrons of light horse, and ten battalions of infantry, a corps of riflemen, and a number of artillery horse, marched towards Cologne and Dusseldorff. General Kleber was defeated, but effected the passage of the Sieg in the night, and continued his route to Dusseldorff without molestation, while Jourdan crossed at Neuwied with the rest of his army, the Archduke having given him very little trouble during his retreat. It is not an easy matter to account for this conduct of Jourdan; it was probably no more than a masterly stratagem; it is certain, that it produced all the effects which could have been expected to result from the best concerted scheme.

On the 15th of June Marshal Wurmser was attacked by the French General Moreau: he was stationed between Frankendal and the Rehut, his front being protected by a canal, and his left wing by the Rebach. The French passed the fortifications, with the water up to their chins, in defiance of a tremendous fire of musketry and cannon: they engaged the Austrians with incredible impetuosity, became masters of their front works, and instantly constructed bridges for facilitating the passage of their cavalry; after which, the Austrians were everywhere defeated, and, at length, obliged to take refuge under the cannon of Mannheim. The greater part of the Austrian forces having been marched towards the Lower Rhine, for the purpose of pursuing General

Jourdan, orders were transmitted from the Directory to General Moreau, to cross the river, which he accomplished on the 24th. The Republicans carried all the entrenchments in the islands of the Rhine at the point of the bayonet, and with such astonishing rapidity, that the Austrians could not effect the destruction of the bridges by which they kept up a communication with their different divisions; and they all fell, of consequence, into the hands of the French. The conquest of Kehl was a still more arduous undertaking. After General Moreau had landed his first division, he immediately sent back the boats by which they had been conveyed; thus, prevented from retreating, they fought with desperation. The first redoubt which the Austrians had erected on the plain for their defence, consisting of five mortars, and 300 men, was carried by the Republicans, while the artillery they got possession of enabled them to assail the remaining entrenchments with some hope of success: they were taken in rapid succession; the Austrians were under the necessity of abandoning Kehl, and were pursued by the conquerors in their retreat towards Offenburg; the number of their killed and wounded was very great, and about 800 were taken prisoners; they also lost 16 pieces of cannon, together with 2,000 muskets. The French were now enabled to construct a bridge between Kehl and the islands of the Rhine, and thereby procure a passage for the rest of the army.

General Ferinot, on the 26th, proceeded to Offenburg, to give battle to the Prince of Condé and General Beaupuis, who after some resistance, were beaten, and obliged to retire towards Wilstedt, whence they were pursued, and soon compelled to

abandon their camp. The greater part of the Republican army then marched against the camp of Bissel, or Zell, in the front of Offenburg, to which place General Wurmser had dispatched a considerable reinforcement; but these were intercepted by the French, and totally routed, which induced the Austrians also to abandon their camp. A decisive and general engagement seemed now to be at no great distance; strong reinforcements were detached from the Lower, and marched to the Upper Rhine. General St. Suzanne, who was posted at Rataffen, or Rothausen, in order to check the progress of the Austrians, came to an engagement with them at the time when Defaix, with two columns, came up to his assistance. The attack was commenced by a terrible cannonade, and both sides fought with the most determined valour and intrepidity, when the Republicans, having got possession both of the river and village of Kintzing, the Austrians were obliged to retreat in the utmost confusion, with the loss of 10 pieces of cannon, nearly the whole of their light artillery, and 1,200 taken prisoners, while the field of battle was strewed with their slain.

On the 2d of July General Laroche marched towards Openau and Knubis, and made himself master of the Mountain of Knubis, said to be the highest of the groupe, which are denominated the Black Mountains, taking two standards, two pieces of cannon, and four hundred prisoners. Next day Freiburg was carried, by the troops of General Saint Cyr, at the point of the bayonet. The march of the Republican left wing was constantly interrupted by conflicts with the enemy; but at Ost, the Imperial General La Tour made a vigorous opposition, but with-



out effect; on the same day, Bibrach, in the valley of Kintzig, was taken possession of by General Ferinot. Possessed of Freiburg, General Moreau was qualified to act against the left wing of the Archduke's army, and cut off his communication with the Prince of Condé. It also exposed to him the territory of the Duke of Wirtemberg, and the roads which led to the Austrian magazines at Villengen and Rothwiel.

General Desaix received orders to engage the Austrians at Rastadt on the 4th of July, and hostilities commenced at Guersbach, the place which defended the left wing of the Imperial army, on the 5th. To oblige them to abandon Rastadt, by turning their left, General Lecourbe attacked them between Olbach and the mountains, while General Decaen received orders to seize, if possible, on the bridge of Kuppenheim, and dislodge them from the mountains; and, after an obstinate conflict, which continued for the space of three hours, the Republicans compelled them to abandon Kuppenheim. The left side of the river was still possessed by the Austrians, in the vicinity of Olbach, the passage of which was forced by the French infantry, who also attacked the wood of Nidderbichel; and, after a contest of three hours, they were completely successful, while another demi-brigade of infantry took possession of the woods near Ottersdorff. In this manner both wings of the Austrian army being almost surrounded, were under the necessity of seeking shelter by re-passing the Murg. On this occasion the French made 1,300 prisoners, but their own loss, in all probability, was more considerable, as the Austrians,

from their position, could act with much greater advantage.

General Moreau gave orders to General St. Cyr, who commanded the centre, to turn the left wing of the Austrian army, and attack their posts at the source of the Elbe, while Defaix was charged to engage the Imperial forces between the mountains and the Rhine. General Taponier, with a small detachment, crossed the mountains, being instructed to pass the river Emms, with a view to turn the right wing of the enemy, by marching forward to Widbad. The Austrians gallantly defended their position at Frauenalb and Herrnalb, repulsing the French four different times; but at the fifth assault, their corps of reserve was completely routed, with the loss of 1,100 taken prisoners, and an almost incalculable number of killed and wounded.

General Defaix commenced his operations with the left wing, by an attack on the village of Malsch, where he fought from nine in the morning till ten at night, when he took possession of the village, and made 500 prisoners. The Imperial army was checked by the cavalry and light artillery under Suzanne and Delmas, stationed between Muchenturn and Ettlingen, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of Prince Charles, who headed them in person.

The astonishing success of the Republicans this day had a powerful influence upon the affairs of the Combined Powers, as it destroyed the whole plan of the campaign. The Archduke designed to have engaged Moreau on the 10th; to effect which, the Saxons had received orders to approach the plain by the way of Baden (in the neighbourhood of Fort Louis) and the valley of Capel, six leagues to the

rear of the Republican army; but his late defeat rendered the execution of his plan impossible, although the hope of its final accomplishment had induced him to make a sacrifice of the whole territories on the Lower Rhine. General St. Cyr proceeded on the 10th to Nuenburg, and the Austrians abandoned Ettlingen, Durlach, and Carlsruhe, in the greatest hurry and confusion, and retreated to a position behind Pfortzheim.

The right wing of the Republican army proceeded on the 12th, to the plains of the Maine; and the left, after effecting the passage of the Nidda, took its station before Frankfort. The magistrates, received a summons to surrender, which was strenuously opposed by the Austrian garrison. The French commenced a bombardment, when several parts of the city being suddenly in flames, the garrison agreed to surrender, and the Republicans, on the ensuing morning, entered in triumph. Wartensleben has been censured for his obstinacy in refusing to surrender, because it was absurd in him to reckon on the ditch by which it was surrounded, since the small extent of the city rendered it incapable of repelling a formidable enemy for any length of time. General Kleber had dispatched three engines, and 150 men, unarmed, to extinguish the flames; but they were not granted permission to enter the city, which shews the ill opinion the citizens of Frankfort had formed of the French.

While the Archduke Charles retreated towards Pfortzheim, he was eagerly pursued by the Republicans; and, upon receiving information that the French intended to cut off his communication with General Frolich and the Prince of Condé, who were on their march to Stutgard, the Archduke deemed it expedient

to abandon his position on the 14th, and retire to Vaihingen. Moreau stationed some troops at Bruchsal, to observe the motions of the enemy in Philippsburg and Mannheim, and to facilitate the procuring of supplies. General St. Cyr, after an obstinate conflict, succeeded in driving the Austrians from Stuttgart. His next object was to oblige them to abandon their posts in the rear of that town: the attack commenced at four in the afternoon, being directed with uncommon severity against General Baillet, and Prince John of Lichtenstein. The former of these officers defended himself most gallantly till the evening; when, as the Republicans were enabled to occupy the ground on the right flank of the Prince of Lichtenstein, the incessant fire of their musketry crossed in their ranks. Orders were accordingly dispatched to General Devay, then upon his march, to come forward with the utmost dispatch: he arrived at the moment when the troops under the command of the Prince of Lichtenstein were in the most imminent danger of being totally destroyed, and succeeded in compelling the Republicans to retire. The Prince gallantly effected the passage of the Neckar on the 19th, and encamped his troops at Felbach, that he might thereby be enabled to keep up a communication with Ulm, without experiencing any important opposition.

The troops furnished by the circle of Suabia, abandoned their position at Sultz, upon the Neckar, and, taking shelter behind Hechingen, the combined forces of Conde and Frolich were obliged to fall back. General Desaix reached Ludwigshurg on the 21st, and obliged the Austrians to evacuate the left bank of the Neckar, which the French, on the ensuing day, endeavoured to cross, but without effect. The Arch-

duke retreated slowly towards Nordlingen, and General Frolich proceeded to Biberach on the 29th of the preceding month, and disarmed the corps from Suabia, who had previously concluded an armistice with the Republican General.

The Archduke proceeded, on the 9th of August, with the principal part of his army, from Nordlingen, crossing the Eger with a view to guard the roads to Donawerth. His center was stationed at Mettingen, or Oettingen, as his head quarters; the right wing of his army at Allersheim and the left near Hohenaltheim. The Republicans succeeded in compelling General Hotze to abandon his position on the 8th, but their attempts against General Riese were defeated: the Prince of Condé was under the necessity of retiring to Monheim, where his Royal Highness was apprised of the critical situation of Wartenleben, who durst not venture to hazard an engagement with General Jourdan, to which it appeared to be the design of the Republican commander to force him, if possible. General Mbreau arrived on the 9th, in front of the enemy's centre, and, next day, marched a great part of his army into the woods, in front of him, and came to an engagement with the left wing of the army of General Hotze, which they combated with the utmost fury and desperation, obliging his advanced posts to give way. On the 11th the Archduke made very formidable preparations for a general attack on the Republicans; his principal army was in three columns, or divisions, the center being commanded by the Prince of Fürstenberg, the right wing by General Hotze, and the left by La Tour. The center and left had it in charge to engage the same

divisions of the Republican army, while the division under the command of General Riese repulsed them in the vicinity of Laningen, continuing its route towards Giengen and Haydenheim, with a view to reach the rear of Moreau's station. In the meantime it was determined that a strong advanced guard should manœuvre on the left wing of the French army, in order to compel them to abandon the heights of Umenheim. The battle commenced on the 10th, at seven in the morning, when the center of the Austrian army repulsed the advanced guard of the Republicans; but the division which proceeded towards Umenheim being attacked in flank by the reserve of General Moreau, was under the necessity of retiring. By this retreat, the right flank of General Hotze being exposed, he was under the necessity of falling back to Forchheim; but the Prince of Fursenberg and General La Tour were enabled to maintain the advantages they had acquired: the conflict was truly desperate, and continued seventeen hours; but, at the moment when the Archduke was occupied in strengthening his right wing, for the purpose of bringing it again into action, he received the disagreeable intelligence that Wartensleben had been obliged to retreat towards Amberg, and that a division of General Jourdan's army had reached Nurnberg, with the manifest intention of uniting its strength to the forces under General Moreau: this made his Royal Highness conclude, that, although he might, perhaps, be victorious in this quarter, he might, ultimately, be compelled to retreat to Donaworth, and, if he should be finally defeated, the consequences might be alarming. He, therefore, reluctantly, determined to decline an attack, although General Riese had proceeded success-

fully to Haydenheim, by obliging the French *Etât-Major-general* to retreat to *Konigsbron*, and had gained possession of four leagues of 'country in the rear of the French army. The hostile armies continued in a state of inactivity during the night, but, at the approach of day, the Austrians began their retreat towards *Donawert*. In this affair the loss of the Imperialists was 1,500 men, and that of the Republicans 2,000 killed and wounded, 1,200 prisoners, four pieces of cannon, and a number of ammunition waggons.

The Archduke arrived at *Donawerth* on the 13<sup>th</sup>, with the principal part of his army, where he received the united force of *Generals Hotze and Riese*. On the same day *General Ferinot* had a fierce engagement with the troops under the command of the *Prince of Condé*, at *Kamlach*, in which he defeated his Highness with very considerable loss, the corps of noble chasseurs being almost wholly cut to pieces. These reverses obliged *Prince Charles* to pass the *Danube* at *Donawerth*, and encamp his army at *Rain*, behind the *Acha*, eight miles East-south-east of *Donawerth*.

At the same time the Republican General brought his troops from the banks of the *Rednitz* to *Dillingen* and *Lauringen*, there to pass the river *Danube*, as the Austrians had rendered it impracticable to cross at any other place, having broken down all the other bridges, and burnt the one at *Donawerth*. Meanwhile *General Ferinot* took the route to *Bregantz*, where he had the good fortune to seize on a number of mortars, one howitzer, 22 pieces of cannon, 40 large barges, and 40,000 sacks of oats, flour, and barley: by these wonderful movements the Republicans were enabled to establish a communication between the armies of the *Sambre* and *Meuse*, the

Rhine and Moselle, and the army of Italy, under General Buonaparte

The situation of the Archduke, which was now rendered critical in the extreme, determined him to march to the relief of Wartenleben, whom Jourdan had pursued almost to Ratisbon; Wartenleben, however, retreated towards Wurtzburg. On the 24th, the garrison of Koenigstien surrendered by capitulation: here the victors found no less than 159 pieces of cannon, 12 mortars of iron and brass, 5,000 muskets, 1,500,000 of musket cartridges, a vast quantity of gunpowder, and 20,000 pounds of cast-iron.

Schweinfurth surrendered to the Republicans on the 22d; and, four days after, they took possession of the town and garrison of Wurtzburg. General Championnet got possession of a number of cannon on the Maine, as well as howitzers and baggage waggons; and 45 boats laden with hay and oats, valued at 1,000,000 of livres, were taken by General Bernadotte. On the Tauber the Austrians were likewise under the necessity of relinquishing 4,000 sacks of oats; and, since they crossed the Lahn, nearly 2,000 deserters reached the head-quarters of the Republican army.

General Wartenleben retreated towards the Danube by the way of Bamberg, being closely pursued by the army of the Sambre and Meuse, under the command of General Kleber, excessive fatigue and anxiety having rendered General Jourdan unable to command. A desperate battle was fought on the 6th of August, between the forces of General Leschvre, and a detachment of Austrians encamped at Altendorf; while Olivier was engaged with another corps in the vicinity of the Rauch-Eberach, seven



miles south of Bamberg, General Kleber determined to attack them on the 8th, while stationed on the banks of the Rednitz, between Ebermanstadt and Hochstadt, to effect which he gave orders to General Lefebvre to march to the Wesent river, who succeeded in forcing the Austrians to abandon Ebermanstadt. Colaud engaged the Austrians before Forchheim, compelled them to enter Bamberg, and immediately sending a summons to the commander to surrender, a capitulation was agreed to. Seventy pieces of brass cannon, with a large quantity of arms and ammunition, fell into the hands of the Republicans.

The villages on both banks of the river Lauff, or Pegnitz, were occupied by infantry from Hungary, and defended by a numerous artillery, planted on the heights. The Austrians disputed every inch of ground, and some of these posts were three times taken, and as frequently relinquished. At length the French confined themselves entirely to the use of the bayonet, and the Imperialists were put to flight, after sustaining a very considerable loss. General Kray was forced to retreat under the cover of artillery, and to cross the Rednitz, by the way of Nurnberg; he was hotly pursued by the Republican army, under the command of General Jourdan, the removal of his late indisposition having enabled him to head it in person. General Ney took Rotenburg, with 42 pieces of cannon, five mortars, four howitzers, and about 40 quintals of powder; about 150 tons of flour, on the way from Nurnberg, also fell into the hands of the Republicans.

The rapid progress and numerous victories of the French, gave great uneasiness and terror to the court

of Vienna, as every day was more calamitous than that which preceded it, and the very throne of Germany seemed tottering to its basis. The speedy destruction of his armies in Italy, and the alarming progress of Jourdan and Moreau, had made a very strong impression on the mind of the Emperor, whose government now seemed to lie at the mercy of France; yet was that unfortunate Prince doomed to witness still further disasters in the degradation of the Princes of the empire, who now were under the necessity of making peace on any terms.

An armistice was concluded on the 19th of July between the Duke of Wirtemberg, and General Moreau, on the part of the French Republic; and a treaty of peace was concluded on the 6th of August between the Duke and France, which received the approbation of the Directory, and was ratified by the legislative body. By virtue of this treaty the Republicans got possession of all his rights and revenues on the left side of the Rhine, and his Serene Highness engaged to banish from his territories all Emigrants and exiled priests.

An armistice was also concluded between France, and the circle of Suabia, on the 27th of July, by which it agreed to furnish the Republic with 12,000,000 of livres in two months and a half, 8,400 horses, 5,000 oxen, 100,000 quintals of wheat, 50,000 quintals of rye, 100,000 sacks of oats, a large quantity of hay, and 100,000 pair of shoes. The example of Suabia was followed by the Marquis of Baden, who ceded to the Republicans his possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, and paid a liberal contribution. A treaty of peace between him and France, was finally ratified at Paris on the

22d of August. The Elector of Bavaria sent ambassadors to treat with General Moreau, while the Diet of Ratisbon gave a considerable degree of alarm, by resolving again to lay before his Imperial majesty its ardent wishes for a general pacification. The Republic, however, did not grant an armistice to either of these states, without receiving very valuable considerations for the most trifling concessions. Money to reward the French soldiers for their successes, or to console them for their disasters, and provisions and clothing, were always stipulated for; and no neutrality, no truce, no peace, could be obtained by the weaker powers, without heavy contributions of this nature.



## CHAPTER X.

CONTINUATION OF THE CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY.—*Excessive Demands of Jourdan on the Circle of Franconia.—The Archduke still retreats, and the French follow up their Advantages.—Austrians defeated at Sultzbach.—General Kray defeated by Jourdan at Wolfstein, after a most gallant Defence.—Bernadotte's Army compelled to retreat.—Jourdan compelled to retreat by the Archduke, after dreadful Conflicts.—Kleber retreats.—Moreau crosses the Lech, and defeats the Austrians in several Engagements.—Jourdan continues retreating; is followed by the Austrians, and driven to Wurtzburgh.—The French forced to retreat from the Lahn to Sieg.—Death of the French General Marceau.—Military Honours paid to his Memory, by both the Austrian and French Armies.*

THE contributions levied by General Moreau, were very excessive, but Jourdan was infinitely more extravagant in his demands on the Deputies of Franconia, with whom General Ernouf, on the behalf of General Jourdan, concluded an armistice. The Circle was to pay 6,000,000 of livres to the Republic, and furnish necessaries for the army, to the amount of 2,000,000 more; all which was to be paid in the space of 45 days. In a short time after, the Deputies were confounded at the contents of a letter they received from General Ernouf, intimating that the business of the armistice was contrary to the sentiments of the Commander in Chief, who, therefore, declared it null and void; and when Jourdan

was requested to explain his designs, he refused to return any satisfactory answer.

A sense of danger seemed to inspire the cabinet of Vienna with a degree of energy suitable to the occasion, and, instead of continuing to eke out their resources, as if to render them sufficiently durable, it now began to collect and combine them, with a view to render them sufficiently powerful. The Archduke, after being obliged to abandon Donawerth, had occupied a very strong position behind the Lech, where it joins the Danube, but receiving information that a division of the Republicans, under General Bernadotte, was on its march towards Ratibon, while the main body of Jourdan's army was directly in front of Wartensleben, his Royal Highness marched along the right bank of the Danube, with the greater part of his forces, leaving General La Tour to watch the motions of Moreau, while he himself designed to pass the river at Ingolstadt, to act against the right flank of Jourdan, at which time General Wartensleben was to engage him in front: he accordingly effected the passage of the Danube on the 17th, both at Neuburg and Ingolstadt, in which last fortress he placed a very strong garrison, not only for the purpose of protecting his own rear, but also for annoying the left flank of General Moreau, should he put in execution his probable intention of marching to Ratibon and Landshut.

General Jourdan, on the 17th, gave orders to Lefebvre, who commanded the left of his army, to engage the right flank of the Austrians, encamped at Sultzbach, on the heights of which a large body of troops, with a powerful train of artillery, had been

stationed by General Wartenleben. Lefebvre was successful in obliging the enemy to abandon the heights, after a gallant resistance. The Republican centre was charged with the attack on the enemy's front before Sultzbach, and General Ney, to facilitate the accomplishment of this object, marched with the vanguard from Herspruck towards Sultzbach, by the only road that was practicable for the conveyance of artillery. The distance between the two places was 22 miles, the whole road being flanked by lofty mountains, which enabled the Imperialists to do incredible mischief to the Republicans.

In this critical situation, General Ney gave orders to attack the woods at the point of the bayonet, while his right wing, in order to deceive the Austrians as to the ultimate point of attack, was ordered to ascend the hill. The Imperialists, under the command of General Hohenlohe, commenced a heavy fire from the woods, but the French troops entering it, the Austrians, not being able to resist, left them the possession of the wood. General Jourdan, changing his position, ordered General Colaud's division to support his vanguard, who, with the Generals Ney and Grenier, enabled the right wing of the Republican army; to turn the left of the Austrians, and obliged them to retreat to Sultzbach, their strongest, though only remaining, position.

Sultzbach, defended by a rock, overshadowed with trees, being wholly inaccessible in front, the skirts of it were defended by artillery and infantry. A small plain to the left of the rock, being surrounded with woods, the position of the Republican troops prevented their reaching it, except through a narrow defile. As it did not occur to the Austrians





*General Jourdan*

*Pub. by H. T. Jones, Jan. 1791.*



that their left was in any danger, they neglected to take possession of a hamlet, environed with trees and hedges, as well as of that part of the wood which was situated beyond the plain. These blunders did not escape General Jourdan, who gave orders to General Ney to occupy the hamlet with a body of light infantry, and Grenier was charged to get possession of the border of the wood at the head of a brigade. The Austrians becoming acquainted with these manœuvres, attempted to recover the wood, but General Grenier, by a smart fire, compelled them to fall back towards the rock. The plain being in the possession of the Republicans, they were thus enabled to commence a heavy cannonading against the right flank of the enemy.

The grenadiers made repeated efforts to scale the rock, being screened from the fire of the Austrians by its numerous projections; but the pieces of the rock, on which they laid hold in climbing, continually gave way. The heights to the left were at length reached by General Lefebvre, where the enemy continued to fight with the most determined bravery and perseverance. The darkness of the night was rendered doubly horrible by the vivid flashes and tremendous roar of artillery. Some light troops, stationed on the glacis of Sultzbach, could not be attacked by the Republicans, their situation being inaccessible. The troops, by which the rock was defended, retreated during the night, which put it out of the power of Lefebvre to pursue them; but, as he had now made himself master of the heights, the forces could easily encamp on the field of battle.

In the mean time, Championnet and Bonneau, whose instructions were to proceed towards Poperg

and Leinfeld, pressed on the advanced guard of the army to Amberg, to check the progress of the Austrian troops stationed in that quarter, which came up with the enemy on the heights of Poperg. They were immediately engaged by Championnet and Bonneau, who compelled them to retreat to Amberg, after an obstinate engagement, which lasted for 12 hours. General Wartenleben removed his head quarters, during the night, towards Schwarzenfeld, behind the Nab; and, on the ensuing day, the division under the command of General Grenier, marched to Amberg, and compelled the Austrians to recross the Wils, one of the feeders of the Nab. In this engagement the Austrians are supposed to have lost 900 killed and wounded, and 200 prisoners; but the loss of the French was much above this number.

No sooner had the French General reconnoitred the position of the Austrians, than he again made preparations to bring them to another engagement: but Jourdan soon discovered the impracticability of forcing this position, while his riflemen proceeded into the plain, between the heights and the woods, taken possession of by the Austrians, while the light artillery, in rapid succession, were stationed on the right and left of the woods. So advantageously were the Austrians situated, that, with the greatest facility, they were enabled to watch the manœuvres of the Republican line, when they also perceived the practicability of gaining the road to Amberg before the Republicans could obtain possession of it. A conflict, singularly bloody, took place between the Imperialists and a corps of Republicans, who were detached to make themselves masters of the passage. General Jourdan commanded three divisions to move

from the centre to the left, when the attack made by the Austrians, was at first so obstinate and terrible that the Republicans were several times obliged to give way, but still returned to the charge, with the most determined bravery. The Austrian columns on the heights behind Wolfstein, made preparations for descending the hill, which was first attempted by a numerous body of cavalry, but as the second regiment of Republican dragoons reached the foot of the hill before the Austrians could accomplish their design, they prevented them from descending, in spite of a heavy fire of artillery. In this situation, General Kray came to an engagement with Jacopin, but, after a gallant resistance, was totally defeated. The Austrians now quitted the heights, for the possession of which they had so strenuously contended, and made good their retreat beyond the Nab, the French resting in the field of battle all night upon their arms.

On the 18th, in the evening, Prince Charles was made acquainted with General Wartenleben's having been obliged to abandon Amberg; and retreat across the Nab. Two days after he reached Hemmau, with the right column of his army, which made him master of the road to Ratisbon, and enabled him to annoy the right flank of General Jourdan's army, which had proceeded towards the Nab. On the 22d, the Archduke's advanced guard engaged the French division, under General Bernadotte, who, after leaving Neumarck, had taken a position near the village of Teining. After an obstinate conflict, the Republican forces were compelled by the Austrian General Nauendorf, to retreat to Neumarck,

from which position he was likewise driven on the ensuing day, by the whole forces of the Archduke: he was accordingly obliged to retreat to Nurnberg, a circumstance which left the right flank and the rear of General Jourdan's army, completely exposed; and the military talents of Prince Charles enabled him to profit by the valour of his troops.

The combined armies of the Archduke, and General Wartensleben, pressed upon General Jourdan on the 24th; the latter marching against the front, and the former against the flank of his army; a movement which must have been followed by a very desperate and decisive battle, had not the critical situation of the Republican Commander in Chief induced him to retreat. Two battalions of his rear guard, stationed in the defile of Amberg, for the purpose of securing his retreat, were almost wholly cut to pieces by the Austrian cavalry. On the 23d the principal part of his army retreated from Amberg to Sultzbach, and from that place towards Wilsech. General Bernadotte immediately evacuated Nurnberg, and, in the utmost haste, marched on towards Forcheim, while the forces of the Austrians at Lauff, rendered it impossible for Jourdan to carry that passage. General Kleber retreated towards Pegnitz, at which place he received the orders of General Jourdan to march directly for Podenstein, where he arrived about midnight. Next day the Republican army took a station behind the Wesent river, having Forcheim on their right, and their left supported by Ebermannstadt. The Archduke, after dispatching Nauendorf by the way of Ratisbon, for the purpose of co-operating with General La Tour, to threaten the left flank of Moreau, he continued his

pursuit of the French Commander in Chief. By the skilful movements and advances of the Archduke, Jourdan, on the 29th, found it necessary to abandon Forcheim, and retreat to Bamberg, where his troops took possession of both sides of the Rednitz. He was pursued by the Archduke, but was much indebted to the steady conduct and manly opposition of his rear guard, by which his retreat was well covered.

General Hotze's advanced guard pushed rapidly forward to Eltman, to prevent, if possible, the retreat of the French by the way of Schweinfurth: but, on the 30th, the Republican baggage and artillery, having effected the passage of the Maine at Hallstadt, the army were enabled, without much difficulty, to force the passage of the river at Eltman, and in the evening they arrived at Schweinfurth; whilst Jourdan's army took this retrograde movement, that of General Moreau, who was stationed on the Lech, was placed in great danger. General La Tour's forces, which Prince Charles had left for the purpose of watching the motions of Moreau, were judiciously stationed, in three detachments, at Rain, Friedberg, and Landsperg, the last-mentioned place being occupied by Emigrants. The troops of General Frolich proceeded to relieve General Wolf, who was confined at Wangen, by the Republican commander, Laborde. To relieve General Jourdan from his perilous situation, it was necessary to cross the Lech, and either totally destroy, or render incapable of immediate service, one of the Austrian corps: it was, therefore, determined on by Moreau, to engage the troops commanded by La Tour at Freidberg. The French right wing crossed at a ford

with which their opponents do not appear to have been acquainted, else it would unquestionably have been defended. The Republicans passed it with the water up to their middle, and their muskets carried above their heads; although the rapidity of the current was so terrible, that vast numbers of them were violently hurried away with it, and many of them lost their lives. On reaching the opposite banks, the General took the route towards Kuffing, reaching the heights on his way to Moringen, the Austrians, on being apprised of this movement, sent a number of squadrons from Friedberg to oppose the Republicans, but they were defeated. The bank opposite to the centre of the French army was entirely taken up by the infantry and artillery belonging to the Imperialists; and the defenders of the bridge were obliged to desist from firing by the superior thunder of General St. Cyr's artillery, when a division of his troops, commanded by Laroche, forded the river at two different places, repulsed the Austrians from the village of Lech-hausen, made themselves masters of the woods along the borders of the Lech, and took five pieces of cannon. On the reparation of the bridges, the whole of St. Cyr's forces crossed the river, and an attack on the camp of Friedberg immediately commenced. The Republican advanced guard took the route towards Munich, under General Abatucci, the design of which movement, was to cut off the retreat of the Austrians in that direction, should they conceive the design of attempting it. St. Cyr engaged them in front, and the remainder of Ferinot's forces proceeded to attack them in flank, but the Austrians retreated, and were signally defeated: they lost in this action about 1,500 prisoners, 17 pieces of cannon, two

standards, and 40 officers. As soon as the French effected the passage of the Lech their right wing marched to Dachau, the left and centre towards the river Danube; a situation which rendered it necessary to proceed with the greatest circumspection, as La Tour's division was opposite to Munich, that of Mercantin was stationed at Landshut, and the division of the Archduke at Ingolstadt, possessed of the bridge and the town, as well as the banks of the Danube, and who had it in his power to send the other Generals considerable reinforcements.

General Moreau endeavoured to gain intelligence, by reconnoitring parties, of the movements of the Austrians along the Danube; but it does not appear that he was fully acquainted with the melancholy reverses which had been experienced by General Jourdan. General Desaix received orders to attack the enemy at Ingolstadt, on the 1st of September, and compel them to demolish the bridge there; General Ferinot took the route to Munich, and the advanced guard of St. Cyr proceeded towards Freisingen. The outposts of the Republicans left were attacked by the enemy at day-break, when La Tour was reinforced by strong detachments from the army of the Prince under General Nauendorf, who, on his march, defeated the French, stationed at Geissenfeld, and obliged to take shelter in an adjacent wood. This was succeeded by a desperate conflict, when the Republicans, reinforced by their companions in arms, who were proceeding towards Ingolstadt and the Danube, were enabled to repulse La Tour, with considerable loss.

In the mean time, an officer was dispatched to acquaint the Commander in Chief with the present pos-

ture of affairs, but he lost his way, and the centre and right of Moreau's army were not engaged: the issue of the campaign might have been very different had Moreau been apprised of the action in proper time to bring his forces into the field. The Austrians, in this action, lost about 1,500 in killed and wounded, 500 prisoners, many valuable magazines, 28,000 sacks of grain and oats, and 1,500 tons of flour. General St. Cyr, on the 3d, sent a body of troops to get possession of the bridge at Freisingen, which the Austrians were endeavouring to destroy, and the Republicans assailed them with such determined intrepidity that they were obliged to retreat without accomplishing their design. A similar attack on the bridge at Munich was gallantly resisted, by the Prince of Furstenberg, for a considerable time, but the French, at length, succeeded in carrying it.

The late successes of the Austrians against General Jourdan, revived the courage of the garrison of Philippsburg. On receiving considerable reinforcements from Mannheim, and being joined by 4,000 of the peasantry in arms, they proceeded, on the 4th of September, to engage a body of Republicans, stationed at Bruchsal; but the nature of their plan was penetrated by the French General, he instantly attacked them at the point of the bayonet, when the troops from the garrison were driven back under the guns of Philippsburg, those from Mannheim retreated as fast as their horses would carry them, and the peasantry were almost wholly cut to pieces.

General Moreau did not abandon his position on the banks of the Iser till the 10th, before which period a number of skirmishes and petty engage-



ments took place, between his army and the Imperial troops. But it is now time to return to the army of the Sambre and Meuse.

On the 30th of August, General Jourdan arrived at Schweinfurth, whither he had found means to retreat by forced marches. Prince Charles reached Bamberg on the 31st, having crossed the Maine on the 2d and 3d of September, and soon got possession of Wurtzburg, to which place General Jourdan made every possible exertion to arrive before them, and was at Karbach, no more than three leagues from it, on the very day it was taken possession of by General Hotze. Jourdan made a dreadful attack on the advanced guard of General Hotze, but found it impracticable to make any important impression on their line, and returned in the evening to his camp at Hornach. The right wing of his army reached to the Maine, not far from Wurtzburg, on a rising ground, with a deep river in front. The first line of his centre division occupied a narrow wood, extending along the bottom of the heights, on which his second line was posted; and his left wing, chiefly composed of cavalry, occupied the plain in front of Karbach, so stationed as to receive the assistance of the infantry in the woods, in case of a surprise, or formidable from superior numbers. The artillery was planted along the front, in the most important points, while General Lefebvre, in order to secure the road which leads to Fulda, was stationed behind Schweinfurth, and a small corps kept up his communication with the main body of the army.

General Wartenleben received orders to pass the bridge at Dettelbach, and engage Jourdan's centre, while General Kray was charged with turning his

left wing. The attack was begun by the troops, under the command of General Stzarray, but the Republicans obliged him to fall back, and even dispossessed him of his primary position. In the mean time Wartenleben crossed the river with his cavalry, and immediately come to action with the left wing of the French. Jourdan weakened his right wing, in order to strengthen his left, and thus put it in the power of Stzarray to resume his former station. The left of Jourdan's army was repulsed by the Austrian cavalry, and obliged to take refuge behind the wood: his left wing was then impetuously attacked by numbers so prodigiously superior to his own, and Jourdan again felt the necessity of commencing a retreat, and was again destined to experience misfortunes. Having retreated to the Lahn, his Royal Highness penetrated the French line at Limburg, or Limpurg, and Dieta, and compelled the Republicans, on the ensuing day, to relinquish all their posts, their centre and left wing retreating towards the Sieg, and the right towards Ehrenbreitstein, taking refuge in Nieuwied, and the left bank of the Rhine, after a severe engagement at Altenkirchen, in which the French were defeated, and obliged to relinquish all their posts in that quarter.

The retreat of the army was committed to the youthful and gallant General Marceau, to be covered by him from the assaults of the enemy, till the Republicans should be enabled to evacuate the defiles of Altenkirchen. Some French chasseurs being engaged in a wood in firing upon some Austrian hussars, Marceau arrived to reconnoitre the ground, accompanied by an officer and some artillery. A Tyrolean chasseur, concealed behind a tree, recognised his rank,

by the marks of distinction upon his habit, and discharged a carbine at him, the contents of which passed through his body. The General, retiring a few paces, descended from his horse: he was taken to Altenkirchen, and was carried through the columns by the grenadiers. On the day following, Altenkirchen was occupied by the enemy's advanced guard; and as soon as the Austrian General, Had-dick, was informed of the circumstance, he sent the wounded French General a guard of safety, which was accompanied by general Kray. This ancient warrior could not refrain from shedding tears; he had been opposed to Marceau for two years past; and, in the midst of conflict, these two generous minds only waited for the return of peace to manifest their sentiments. Some hopes of saving Marceau were still retained, and Prince Charles's principal surgeon exerted himself to the utmost, in vain. In the morning the symptoms became more dangerous: the General was seized with a heaviness in his head, and expired about six o'clock. The Austrian regiments of Barco and Blankenstein, who had known him upon the field of battle, and admired his valour at the head of the French squadrons, disputed the honour of paying him the last offices; but in this they were prevented, as the French officers attending him had prevailed upon Prince Charles to suffer his remains to be delivered to his brethren in arms. The Prince, at the same time requested, that the Austrians might be apprised of the moment of his interment, for the purpose of joining with the French in performing the last military honours; his body was accordingly interred in the fortified camp at Co-

blentz, during the discharge of the artillery of both armies.

The stability of the Republic was secured by its military energies: military glory, therefore, was the ardent desire of the people as well as of the armies. Marceau had eminently served the Republic in the field; his comrades, and their enemies, equally admired his bravery, and honoured his memory, and the solemnities, which the contending armies contributed to heighten, were heard of at Paris with admiration, and listened to with enthusiastic attention; and the Parisians fancied that the respect which the Archduke, and his army, paid to the deceased Republican General, was an involuntary homage to the genius and glory of the Republic.



## CHAPTER. XI.

*The French recross the Rhine.—Austrians defeated at Mainburg.—RETREAT OF GENERAL MOREAU.—Operations during the Retreat.—The Archduke defeats the French, and takes Kendringen.—Moreau effects his Retreat to Huninguen, and recrosses the Rhine.—Kehl besieged, and taken by the Austrians.*

THE Republicans having re-crossed the Rhine at three different places, the Archduke detached a considerable force to be marched towards Ukareth and the Sieg, taking the route towards the Maine, with the remaining part of his forces, which river he crossed on the 25th, in order to commence hostilities against General Moreau, leaving at the same time a sufficient force between Mayence, or Mentz, and Francfort. After the memorable defeat of Jourdan, it was manifest that Moreau could not possibly penetrate farther into Bavaria, nor continue for any length of time in the places he then occupied, and Prince Charles was enabled to send larger reinforcements to General La Tour, in proportion as Jourdan receded farther from the Danube and the Maine. The coolness and military abilities of Moreau, had full scope for exertion, and they were, perhaps, never exceeded on any similar occasion.

An engagement took place between the hostile armies on the 7th of September, in the vicinity of Mainburg, when the Austrians were defeated by the centre of the Republican army, and 500 of them taken prisoners. Three days after, General Moreau abandoned his position, and commenced a retreat, taking

the route towards Meuberg, during which a number of bloody conflicts took place. When he was severely pressed by the Austrians he united his whole forces in one solid mass, and fell upon them with such irresistible fury that he compelled them to retire to a considerable distance, and then fell back by degrees towards the Rhine. In the mean time, a detachment from the army of the Archduke, strengthened by troops from Mannheim and Philipsburg, attacked General Sherer on the 13th, who was stationed at Bruchsal, in the neighbourhood of Philipsburgh, obliging him to retreat to Rastadt, and from thence to Kehl. At this place the Republicans were again assaulted by all the forces which the enemy could collect, who succeeded in penetrating as far as the *tête du pont*, or head of the bridge, over the Rhine, where their career was checked by the thunder of the batteries planted at that place, and they were thrown into the utmost confusion. All the works of importance were still in the possession of the Republicans, who drove the Austrians from the town and neighbourhood of Kehl by a tremendous fire. The national guards of Strasburg, were ordered by General Moreau to secure Kehl, the bridge, and the forts on the isles of the Rhine, as places of the utmost importance in assisting his retreat.

On the 17th the Republican army, which had taken a position behind the Lech, made a singular and daring movement, and accomplished the total defeat of General La Tour, carrying certain destruction before them wherever they went, and proceeded as far as Landsperg. Moreau again re-passed the Lech, on the 20th, near Rain and Augsburg, and took the route to Ulm, while General Nauendorf

occupied the roads to Stutgard, in order to prevent his retreating in a north-west direction; but when the Republicans took their departure from Ulm they marched as far as Erbach by the left, or north bank of the Danube, at which place they again effected the passage of the river, and continued their route through the territories of the Prince of Furstenberg towards the Forest Towns; General La Tour advancing on their rear, General Frolich on one flank, and Nauendorf on the other. In the mean time, the mountains of the Black Forest were occupied by the Imperialists, which reduced Moreau to the alternative of either defeating Nauendorf, and thus gaining the Val d'Enfer (or valley of hell), the defiles of which lead into the Brisgaw, on the west, by the way of Freiburg, or retiring by the way of Switzerland on the South. As La Tour pressed hard upon his rear, he resolved to disable him as much as possible, and thereby procure time for retreating, without any essential loss.

On the 30th of September, he engaged the Austrians in the vicinity of Steinhausen, with the most dreadful fury and desperation, and La Tour was in danger of being totally ruined, although he proceeded against the Republicans with all his force. Prince Charles did not attempt to unite his forces with those of La Tour, but directed his march along the right bank of the Rhine, apparently with a design to cut off the retreat of General Moreau by the way of that river, and he arrived at Rastadt on the 5th of October. The Prince of Lichtenstein effected the passage of the Rhine, at Mannheim, on the 2d, but his operations were productive of no ma-

terial advantage. To annoy the rear of the Republican army in its retreat, a numerous body of Austrians had stationed themselves between the Neckar and the Danube, as well as to cover all the passes of the Black Forest and mountains.

General Defaix, who commanded the left wing, passed the Danube, at Riedlingen, on the 2d; and, after recrossing it at Munderking, defeated a detachment of Austrians, stationed between the Feder-see and the river. Having obtained information of the advantages gained by General Defaix, Moreau determined to attack the front of the enemy with his centre division, which he succeeded in defeating, after an obstinate conflict of six hours. Upon this, General La Tour was obliged to abandon his ground, his rear being in danger from the progress of the enemy, and his right flank completely exposed; and he retreated towards the Riss, from which place he was soon obliged to retire beyond the Rothambach, or Rottam. His retreat was covered by the troops under the command of the Prince of Condé, on whom the French took the most dreadful revenge: their loss amounted to 5,000 prisoners; several standards, and 20 pieces of cannon.

As these successes gave General Moreau sufficient time to concert measures for his farther retreat, he took the route of Stockach with the principal part of his army. Every defile in his flank and rear was occupied by the Austrians, while the rapid movements of the Archduke seemed to indicate a determination to destroy the bridges on the Rhine, prior to his arrival there. Nothing but the most singular courage and intrepidity were equal to the task of extricating the French from their critical situation, for



all communication with France was totally cut off. Two divisions of the left wing of the Republican army crossed the Danube, between Riedlingen and Sigmaringen, and, after assembling in the vicinity of Veringen, took their route towards Friedingen and Beuren, or Beyern, covering the retreat of the army, from the attempts which it was suspected would be made against it by Nauendorf and Petrasch. Moreau having established his head quarters at Stockach, commenced his final operations, by forcing a passage to the Forest towns, which he readily accomplished. Such of his troops as were not necessary for checking the progress of General La Tour, were charged with covering the left flank, and commanded by General Defaix, who succeeded in forcing Petrasch, on the 8th, to abandon Dutlingen, and pursued him as far as Villengen. After being reinforced by the troops which had proceeded along the left bank of the Danube, he next day came to an engagement with General Petrasch at Schweningen, driving him from that place, as well as Villengen, and made himself master of Rothweil, which, however, he was obliged to abandon on the approach of Nauendorf. To force the passage of the Black Forest was a task which the Republicans had yet to accomplish: the centre of the French army made a furious attack on the Austrians, stationed in the Val d'Enfer, a most terrific defile, narrowed by lofty mountains for several leagues, not exceeding, in some places, ten fathoms in wideness. The united efforts of the right and left wings soon cleared the defile, without sustaining any loss, and reached Freiburg on the 13th, taking possession of Waldkirch on the ensuing day, and ranging their posts along the heights on the right

bank of the Eltz, while the convoys and baggage, under the protection of the right wing, passed the defiles, by the way of the Forest towns. On perceiving that it was no longer practicable to prevent the retreat of General Moreau, La Tour gave up the pursuit, and proceeded to form a junction with Prince Charles, in the vicinity of Hornberg, and the Prince of Conde and General Frolich continued the pursuit of the French, while retreating, through the defiles of the Black Forest, and mountains. As another attack upon Kehl could not be attempted from the rapid approach of Moreau's army, the Archduke reached Malborgen on the 16th, and took the command of La Tour's army. The Archduke, having united his whole forces in the neighbourhood of Eltzach and Effingen, gave battle to the left wing and centre of the Republican army. Wartensleben, with the centre division, was to force the heights behind Maltertingen, or Martinfell; and General Petrasch, with the left wing, was ordered to march to Emendingen. La Tour, who commanded the right, had to encounter a terrible opposition, being repeatedly repulsed in his attempts on Kendringen, or Kinsingen, till the Archduke, at the head of the grenadiers, returned to the assault with renovated vigour, and made himself master of the village. Upon this occasion, General Wartensleben received a dangerous wound in the arm, while bringing the centre division into action.

The Austrians, on the 20th, made a desperate attack on Nimburg, on Newenburg, but without producing any important effect. The day following, General Moreau retired towards Huninguen, where a large bridge was established. His position was for-





*General Bournovilli.*

*Pub. by M. Jones, Feb. 1807.*

midable, with the right wing of his army touching the Rhine, his left at Candern, or Kandern, and his centre division at Schlingen, or Schliegnen, where he intended to remain for some time, if the Austrians did not compel him to alter his resolution. The Imperial army began its movement on the 23d, in four columns, those commanded by the Prince of Conde and the Prince of Furstenberg received instructions to manœuvre in such a manner as to prevent the Republicans from detaching any troops from their left. The third and fourth columns, under La Tour and Nauendorf, were instructed to attack the left wing, and, by marching in the direction of the Rhine, endeavour to turn their flank. After an obstinate conflict, which continued till night, the Republicans retreated to Altingen, or Hilingen, and, on the 26th, effected the passage of the Rhine at Huninguen, without meeting with any opposition from the enemy. This last movement put a period to a retreat, which has scarcely a proper parallel in the annals of history, and which will transmit the military talents of General Moreau to the latest posterity, with unfading glory and honour.

A severe indisposition having obliged General Jourdan to resign the command, it was conferred on General Bournonville, Commander in Chief of the northern army. On the 26th of September, the bridges across the Moselle had been totally swept away by the impetuosity of the waters, and the wrecks of these destroyed the bridges between the right bank of the Rhine and the Isle of Neuwied. The Austrians seemed to have conjectured that General Bournonville had been under the necessity of dispatching a number of his troops to defend the

places which were threatened, and by this means weakened his forces on the Lower Rhine. Acting under this conviction, they attempted to turn the division of General Grenier, which they concluded to be surrounded with water, and, on the 20th of October, made six debarkations between Andernach and Bacharach, that Grenier might be induced to weaken his force by sending detachments thither: but their troops were attacked by Kleber and Championnet, when the whole of them were either taken prisoners, or perished in the water. The Imperialists, in the mean time, threatened the bridge, and attempted either to carry or destroy it by a terrible discharge of bomb-shells, and balls, but the tremendous fire of the Republican batteries obliged them to retreat without effecting their purpose.

The Austrians, who had proceeded from Mentz to the Lower Nahe, were posted with their left wing on the heights, in the vicinity of Creutznach, and their right on the hill of Rothenberg, for the purpose of defending the passage of Bingen. On the 26th the right wing of General Bournonville's army engaged the Austrian line between Creutznach and Kayserlautern, obliged them to abandon their position, and retreat behind the Seltz.

The garrison of Kehl made a vigorous sally on the 22d of November, in order to reconnoitre the lines which had been drawn by the besiegers, when the whole was forced at the point of the bayonet. On this occasion the French took 600 prisoners, and 10 pieces of cannon, their unexpected success not allowing them to carry off any more, and

they accordingly spiked those which they were obliged to leave behind.

The Austrians made a number of spirited efforts to gain possession of Kehl, and the bridge of Fluningen, sometimes by the formalities of a regular siege, and at other times by scaling the forts, but they still resisted their most vigorous assaults: the Archduke durst not leave the Brisgaw exposed to the incursions of General Moreau, and the conquest of Kehl was of the utmost importance for the security of his troops while in winter quarters.

After the bombardment of Kehl the Archduke resolved on a regular siege; and, therefore, opening his trenches on the 25th of November, he commenced an incessant cannonading, which lasted for the space of fifteen days, without interval. A second attack was made upon it on the 25th of December, when the defence of it became doubly dangerous and difficult, its communication with Strasburg being destroyed by breaking down the bridge, and damaging the boats, so as to render them totally useless. After completing their second parallel, the Austrians attacked and carried the Republican camp, and likewise the battery by which it was defended. The French, when driven into the fortress, were again rallied by General Lacombe; and, that he might compel them to fight with determined valour and perseverance, he destroyed the bridges, to prevent their return. This had the desired effect, and they defeated the Austrians with considerable loss.

The artillery of the Austrians was now too dreadful for the Republicans to withstand: they had no communication with the opposite bank, and could entertain no rational hope of any seasonable relief.

General Desaix, in person, proposed a capitulation, to the Archduke, but it contained such conditions as he would not accept of. The French General was equally as determined to make no alteration, and concluded with these remarkable words, that he would make use of his last resource. The Prince enquired "What resource have you left?" Desaix answered, that he had a number of men remaining, and a certain quantity of gunpowder; and, before he would consent to a degrading or humiliating capitulation, he would *blow up the Austrian camp, and both armies should perish in one common ruin!* This terrific declaration produced an instantaneous change on the mind of the Archduke, and he signed the capitulation in its original form, allowing the French 24 hours to carry off their artillery and stores.

The surrender of Kehl terminated this desperate campaign on the Rhine, at the conclusion of which it appears, that the hostile nations had conceived a much higher degree of respect for each other than they had previously entertained. Both parties had fought with a degree of valour, that left it doubtful whether the most honour was due to the conquerors or the vanquished, and the struggle had been maintained, without either side having committed any act of cruelty or perfidy dishonourable to the character of the bravest soldier.



## CHAPTER XII.

*The Influence of Buonaparte's Successes, his Popularity and his future Plans.—Engagement at Covelio.—Battle of Bassano.—Critical Situation of Wurmser.—Engagements at Castellaro, and near Mantua.—Battle of St. George, &c.—Austrian Standards presented to the Directory.—Treaties concluded with Naples, Parma, &c.—Modena, Bologna, &c. declare their Allegiance to France.—Insurrections in the Fiefs at Montserrat, &c.—Fete at Milan.—Buonaparté orders the Genoese Merchants to return, and orders an Uniform for the Milanese, &c.—Nobility abolished in Lombardy.*

THE long and arduous defence maintained by the garrison of Kehl had diverted the attention of the Archduke Charles from the affairs of Italy, whence he had intended to follow Wurmser, with the design of stopping the career of the victorious Buonaparté, and the French Government took advantage of the interval to increase the strength of their brave army. It was at this period, that the want and wretchedness, of which the troops had had so much reason to complain, during the whole course of the war, seemed wholly to disappear, and it was from this time, that, quitting the simplicity and virtue of a Republican Leader, the seeds of ambition were sown in the breast of the great General.

Every foldier, who, while he felt the daily privations to which he was exposed, exulted in the consciousness that he was suffering for his country, and

had a claim upon its gratitude, was now rewarded to the full extent of his services, and, instead of the proud character of a public Creditor, found himself under daily obligations to that General, by whose instrumentality and foresight alone he judged that his comforts had been increased. Ratiocination seldom becomes the business of an army, hence it did not occur to the French soldier, that the progress of time, and the improved state of the government, were sufficient to bring about the ameliorations they obtained, without the interference of the General; but every individual poured out his praise to the Commander in Chief, as the restorer of all order, the provider of all good, and, as at once, the object of their adoration and their hope.

As it was with the army, so it was with the multitude: they did not consider, that the brilliant victories of Dumourier, of Pichegru, of Jourdan, of Hoche, and of Moreau, had weakened and debilitated their enemies, so that they were half exhausted before Buonaparté appeared upon the stage of action, hence, they ascribed all the merit of their victories to his superior skill and bravery, and looked up to him alone as the soul of their political existence. Thus a people, which had in a thousand instances refused justice to the valour and abilities of their most faithful commanders, were now as profuse of their generosity as they had been of their censure; and such was the effect of their adoration upon the mind of the young Veteran, that he hardly knew whether to despise them most, in the character of savages or buffoons: it required the clear and abstract mind of Buonaparté, to demean itself in a becoming manner under such circumstances; for, after he had lost

his respect for the Republic it was extremely difficult to conceal his contempt for it, and any symptom of that sort would only have served to open the eyes of a people, whom he considered incapable of deriving benefit from instruction.

The Champion of the Republic beheld himself at the head of a band of varnished slaves, and, under a conviction that they would harness themselves to the chariot of the first fortunate knave, that might possess art enough to make himself essential to their welfare..

“ He dreamt of kingdoms, crowns, and regal state,  
Till busy Fancy whisper’d—‘ These are thine’.”

The stern language and proclamations of the Republicans, were now softened by the arts and manners of the candidate for a crown, and henceforth the views and conduct of Buonaparté were directed entirely by his own interest. How auspicious the moment to cherish the nascent ambition of an ardent and aspiring mind! Placed at the head of armies, whose enthusiastic devotion would have induced them to follow him in the most desperate and romantic expeditions, whilst he was hailed by all the world as the Victor over the greatest Generals of the universe, who were at once obliged to acknowledge their admiration of his talents, and their submission to his arms, he must have been either more or less than human who could have refused to appropriate to himself all the advantages that the state of things offered to him, for the mere sake of having his forbearance and virtue recorded, by the very small number, who would have had sense enough to discern it.

The retreat of the armies from Germany, left Bu-

naparté without hope of any diversion in his favour in the Tyrol, which he had expected from Moreau; but if he had nothing to hope from co-operation he had nothing to fear from a rival, and having completed his arrangements for the successful conclusion of the campaign in Italy, he prepared to frustrate the attempts that the Austrians were making for the preservation of Mantua; and Field Marshal Wurmser, notwithstanding his continual misfortunes, persevered with a constancy and courage, which procured him greater glory, than has been gained by all the German Generals, who preceded him in Italy.

On the 6th of September, General Augereau proceeded to Borgo-du-val-di-Sugana, Martello, and Val-Soiva: the division of General Massena also marched to these places by Trent and Levico. General Augereau's division drove the Imperialists from the village of Priémolan, but they rallied in the small fort of Covelò, that blocked up the road through which it was necessary to pass, and only, after a spirited resistance, evacuated this post. The French took 10 pieces of cannon, 15 waggons, 10 standards, and 2,500 prisoners, and on the morning of the following day, the army passed through the rest of the defiles of the Brenta.

A rapid and unexpected march of 20 leagues, in two days, completely disconcerted the Imperialists. On the 8th, at two in the morning, the army put itself in motion, and, on arriving at the mouth of the defiles, near the village of Solagna, fell in with the enemy. Augereau and Massena, about seven in the morning, began the engagement; the Imperialists kept firm for some time, but were, at length, routed, when General Murat sent several detachments of ca-

valry in pursuit of them. The French marched immediately to Bassano, which was still occupied by General Wurmser and his head quarters; Augereau entered it on the left, while Massena entering it on the right, attacked the batteries, which defended the bridge of the Brenta, and, after carrying the artillery, and passing the bridge, penetrated into the town; General Wurmser, and the treasure of the army, escaped only by a moment. In six days the French fought two battles, and came to four engagements: they took from the enemy 21 standards, and several thousand prisoners; and, though they fought in defiles, they advanced in these six days, upwards of 45 leagues, and took 70 pieces of cannon, with their waggons and equipments.

Marshal Wurmser fled, in person, with the wrecks of two battalions of volunteers to Montebello, between Vicenza and Verona. On the 9th, Augereau, with his division, proceeded to Padua, and took part of the baggage of the Austrian army, with 400 men, who escorted it: his object was to cut off Wurmser's retreat to Trieste. The division of Massena marched from Vicenza on the same day, with an intent to advance to the Adige, and cross it at Ronco. Buonaparté, on quitting Trent, had left General Kilmaine at Verona, with directions to plant artillery on the ramparts of the place; but the number of his forces was inadequate to controul a populous town, and repulse a numerous army, who had so many reasons to spare nothing that might render them masters of so important a post. General Wurmser defiled the whole night of the 9th along the Adige, which he crossed at Porto-Legnago. On the 10th,

Massena passed the Adige at Ronco: at day-break on the 11th, Buonaparté directed the division of General Massena, who had crossed the Adige during the night (whilst Augereau marched to Padua) to march to Sanguinetto, in order to obstruct the passage of the Austrians from Porto-Legnago to Mantua, and, by placing the enemy between two fires, capture General Wurmser and all his army. General Sahuguet, who was posted before Mantua, was directed to detach 5,000 men for the purpose of getting possession of Governolo, a point whereby the enemy might escape, by leaving Sanguinetto on their right: they were also to occupy Castellaro, and cut down all the bridges on the river Tayone as far as Ponte-Molino. Massena's division, although overcome with fatigue, proceeded to Sanguinetto: to go from Ronco to Sanguinetto there are two roads; the one leading from Ronco runs to the left, following the Adige, and joins the road from Porto-Egnano to Mantua: the second leads directly from Ronco to Sanguinetto; it was the latter which should have been taken, but their guide happened to follow the former. General Murat, at the head of a detachment of light horse, arrived at Cerea, and, having fallen in with the head of Wurmser's division, defeated some squadrons of cavalry. General Pigeon, who commanded Massena's advanced guard, finding his cavalry engaged, hastened forward, with his light infantry, to sustain them, and having passed the village, took possession of a bridge, across which the enemy were under the necessity of passing. The main body of this division being still at a great distance, Wurmser instantly made his dispositions, and having defeated the French advanced guard, retook

the village and bridge of Cerea. Buonaparté, attracted by the cannonade, hastened to the spot, but the moment was lost.

Wurmser defiled all the night of the 11th towards Mantua, with such rapidity that he reached Nogara early in the morning. Meanwhile the Imperialists, finding the bridge of Castellaro broken down and occupied, defiled by the bridge of Villa-Imperia, which General Sahuguet had neglected to destroy. The moment Sahuguet learned this, he detached some horse to harass and retard their march, but he could not succeed. General Charton's troops, instead of posting themselves in the ditches, charged the enemy; but General Charton was killed, and the whole party taken prisoners, and Wurmser continued his march towards Mantua. During these transactions, Augereau arrived before Porto-Legnago, and having invested the place, summoned the Governor, who after a few cannon-shot, agreed to surrender.

On the 13th, Buonaparté learned, that the Austrians had reached Mantua with their cavalry, and about 4,000 men, the remains of their army. On the 14th General Massena set out at day-break from Castellaro towards Mantua: the engagement began at noon, the light infantry of the French was discomfited; several severe actions occurred in the course of the day, in which the generals and soldiers on both sides displayed great gallantry, and wherein the Austrians were successful.

Early in the morning of the 15th the Imperialists had drawn out nearly all the garrison to defend La Favorite and St. George, and thereby to preserve the means of procuring forage for their numerous

cavalry. General Masséna attacked the Imperialists with such impetuosity, that, after driving them from post to post, he carried the village of St. George, and the enemy, in disorder, re-entered Mantua with what troops they could save. In this battle the enemy's loss in killed and wounded, must have amounted to 2,000 men at least; several French generals and officers were wounded. Every thing which vigilance and activity could contribute towards surrounding the Austrian General, and forcing him to surrender with the rest of his army, was made by Buonaparté. His indefatigable divisions had not a moment of repose, and the four days that followed the battle of Bassano, were only a continual series of movements and engagements.

The garrison of Mantua, reinforced by the troops which General Wurmser had conducted thither, and animated by his presence, obliged the French to remain in force before the place, and they endeavoured, by preventing its communication with the neighbourhood, to reduce it to the last extremity. General Kilmaine, who commanded the two divisions besieging Mantua, remained in his position till the 29th, when 500 men of the garrison made a sortie, at 10 o'clock of the morning, having passed the Po at Borgoforte, for the purpose of foraging. In the mean time, the French had succeeded in completely blockading Mantua, and had made themselves masters of the gates of Fradella and Cereza. The Austrian detachment, therefore, retired into the castle of Montechiarugolo, in the territory of the Duke of Parma, in which they were taken prisoners by capitulation. Skirmishes frequently occurred under the walls of Mantua, and its reduction was anxiously expected.



About this time, the citizen Marmont, chief of brigade of artillery, and aid-de-camp of General Buonaparté, conveyed to Paris, 22 standards taken from the Imperialists: he was presented to the Directory by the Minister of War, in presence of a crowd of citizens, whom the ceremony had attracted. The Minister in his address to the Directory, after informing them that the army of Italy, always triumphant, presented to them the trophies of its late victories observes: "The army of Italy, has no more triumphs to obtain; its career has been the most glorious and astonishing. May it then delegate victory to the armies of the Rhine; and may an enemy, too ready to become proud of some ephemereal advantages, soon learn, that the French are everywhere the same, and that, when they contend for liberty, nothing can oppose their courage."

Marmont then addressed the Directory, by observing, that the army of Italy, although it had conquered the most beautiful region of Europe, had not yet done enough for its country and for glory; its warlike phalanxes, before yielding to repose, had to annihilate those enemies who remained. The 22 standards he presented were taken in 14 days, in the engagements of Serravalle, Lavis, the passes of the Brenta, and the battles of Roveredo, Bassano, and St. George: the victories of the army of Italy were a certain guarantee of its constant affection for the Republic; it knew how to defend the laws, and how to obey them, as well as to combat external enemies. "Deign," added he "to consider it as one of the firmest columns of liberty; and believe, that, while the soldiers, composing it, exist, the government will have intrepid defenders."

To this address, Revellière Lepaux, President of the Directory, made an impressive reply. "You, young warrior!" he concluded, "whose good conduct and courage the General proclaims, receive these arms as a mark of the esteem of the Directory, and never forget, that it is as glorious to employ them in the interior, for the maintenance of our Republican constitution, as to make use of them in annihilating its external enemies; for the reign of the laws is not less necessary than the eclat of victory, to the preservation of Republics." He presented him with an elegant pair of pistols.

In the month of October, a peace was negotiated, or rather accepted, by the Duke of Parma. This treaty was highly advantageous to the French, who required every concession that could be asked, and received every concession that was required. "Hannibal is at the gates!" was the argument of the French: the inference was easily made by a state, reduced to imbecility, and whose weakness gave up every thing, because it had power to retain nothing, but by the sufferance of the Conqueror, who over-ran Italy: he had the means of enforcing all he demanded; the reasonableness and the equity of the demand were not within the limits of his consideration or enquiry.

Reggio, since the 28th of August, had been in arms, and expelled the troops of the Duke of Modena, that formed its garrison; Ferrara and Bologna had sent deputies to felicitate this success, and offer their assistance. The Regency, that governed the states of the Duke of Modena since his flight immediately began to repair the fortifications of his capital; but the French entered the town on the 5th of

October, declared the armistice broken by the sovereign of Modena, and took under their protection the people of that city, and of Reggio. The Council of Regency was suppressed, and replaced by a committee, which took an oath of fidelity to the French Republic, to govern in its name, and receive the oaths of all the secondary authorities. The members of the Ducal Regency were arrested, a national guard was organized through the whole state, and an assembly convoked at Modena, for the purpose of uniting the people of Bologna, Ferrara, and Reggio.

In a sitting of the Senate of Bologna, called under the protection of the French, it was decided, unanimously, that the ancient forms and titles should be abolished, and that the senate, as well as its individual members, should receive and give only the title of Citizen. On the afternoon of the 16th of October, the tree of liberty was planted in the grand square, amidst the joyous acclamations of *Viva la Repubblica Francese*, and at night a grand illumination took place. Some persons, however, by indulging in reproaches and menaces towards others, occasioned a tumult, during which the popular fury committed several excesses. The *Birichini* afterwards entered different houses, and exacted wine, as a recompense of the fatigue they had undergone, but Buonaparté having arrived, published a proclamation to the Bolognese, in which he informed them, that the constitution, and the national guard would forthwith be organised. He declared himself to be the enemy of tyrants, but, above all, the sworn foe of villains, plunderers, and anarchists; and that it

was his fixed resolution to order those to be shot, who, by violating social order, were born for the disgrace and misfortune of the world.

The Senate afterwards invited the citizens to regard the tree of liberty with enthusiasm, but at the same time with respect. The audacious, who should dare to outrage it by word or by deed, were to be declared guilty of treason, and punished with death. He, who should dare to disturb the public tranquillity and order, or insult the government and constituted authorities, was immediately to be shot, as an example. Another declaration announced, that General Buonaparté feeling inquietude respecting the public order, the Senate thought it necessary to organize a provisionary civic guard, taken from the body of artists and tradesmen, for the defence of the citizens. Every one was invited to respect it, and if any presumed to offer it the slightest insult, he should suffer the most rigorous punishment, and even the penalty of death.

Ferrara united in all these measures adopted for the establishment of a Republican administration; and at Genoa, the French solemnized with great pomp, the anniversary of the 5th year of the Republic. Discontents, however, were manifested in different parts of Italy; the inhabitants of the former Imperial Fiefs were again about to use insurrection against the French, who had entered these fiefs to the number of 1,000 men. The conveyance of powder and other warlike stores into the Fiefs, had excited suspicions, and Buonaparté immediately ordered the Governor of Tortona to send a detachment to the Fiefs. The particulars of this expedition are un-

known, but many persons were taken in arms and shot, and depots of arms and stores were discovered. The French were continually annoyed in the mountainous part of Montserrat: the convoys destined for the French armies were often dispersed, and General Dujard of the artillery had been killed. Buonaparté, however, soon caused the malcontents to be everywhere defeated, and put to flight; scarcely a day elapsed without a great number of them being shot.

At Milan, on the 22d of September, the festival of the Foundation of the French Republic, was celebrated with great pomp: the firing of cannon announced the day, and the Councils, the Members of the Tribunal, and the Municipality, paraded in splendid procession, and a corps of French officers assembled at the palace of Serbelloni, where General and Madame Buonaparté resided. At nine the whole train set out, preceded by artillery men, with cannon, French grenadiers, and a battalion of the national guards, with military music. When these had reached the public square, the general in Chief, Buonaparté, and his brilliant escort of generals, and officers of the *etat major* arrived, and took their stations, as did also the Municipality, the Congress, and the other Authorities, while the French troops and national guards on duty were also ranged in the square, and the entrance was lined with musicians: the cannon announced the commencement of the rejoicings; a superb tree of liberty was planted, and several speeches were pronounced: the General in chief, the Commissioner Garreau, and the superior officers, received the troops as they defiled by pla-

toons before them, and the General, and his retinue, proceeded in their return to the palace of Serbelloni, to which place the Constituted Authorities, with all their attendants, repaired on foot.

Near the palace, a temple was raised to Liberty: the Goddess herself appeared in a magnificent triumphal car, drawn by six beautiful steeds; she was a young female, dressed in the Grecian style, and waving a tri-coloured banner. Six boys, ornamented with garlands of flowers and foliage, and carrying emblems of Liberty triumphant, Tyranny vanquished, and Coalition crushed, sported around her. Between these garlands there appeared a large inscription, shewing the names of the armies, who had deserved well of their country, and, in another part, was seen the name of *Lombardy* presented to the Goddess by a Genius, who implored her favour in behalf of those delightful regions. This car, after appearing at the palace of the General, made the tour of the city, and then returned to the square of the national palace during the entertainment, of which the General, in person did the honours. After dinner the train repaired, during the discharge of artillery, to the public walk of the gate L'Orient, and assisted at horse and foot races, performed by the French officers and Milanese citizens; the evening concluded with theatrical representations and dances.

An address was also published by the Government, as the *programma* of a prize, for the best treatise on the following question, "Which is the Free Government best calculated to promote the Happiness of Italy?"

Buonaparté, in a letter to General Berthier, which was published at Milan, mentioned, that he was in-

formed, several Genoese merchants had left Genoa in great haste, and taken refuge in Milan, pretending that the French were to bombard Genoa: he, therefore, directed, that they should be ordered to leave Lombardy immediately, and return home, as it was his wish to deprive the malevolent of all means of disturbing the Genoese people, to whom the army of Italy owed essential obligations, both on account of the grain they had procured in a period of scarcity, and the friendship they had always manifested towards the Republic.

From a similar motive, Buonaparté made public a letter, addressed to Cardinal Matthei, in which, after remarking that the circumstances the latter was placed in were truly difficult and novel, he stated, that it was to this cause alone he wished to attribute the essential faults committed by him. The moral and Christian virtues, which all the world recognized in the Cardinal, made the General earnestly desire, that he would return to his diocese, and assure all the ministers of religion, and all the religious of the different congregations, of the special protection the French General would grant them, whilst they forbore to intermeddle in the political affairs of the people. He also ordered, that the uniform of the legions of the Cispadane cities, should be the same as that of the Milanese, and an edict of the 28th, ordered all strangers, priests as well as seculars, employed in offices under the regal government, and those who had been in the service of the Archduke and Emperor, to leave the Milanese in 15 days, unless they had been in employment for upwards of 15 years. The Committee of Government of Lombardy published a proclamation in the name of the

French Republic, abolishing royalty, for ever, within its territory; and no person was to bear any title, but that of Citizen, or that conferred by his office or profession.

Thus did Buonaparté, by his masterly arrangements, secure the influence of France in those states which he had conquered at the head of her armies. The victories of the General were immediately taken advantage of by the policy of the statesman, and successfully adapted to purposes, that no war minister, unless he were at the seat of war, could have either planned or executed.





CHAPTER XIII.

CONTINUATION OF BUONAPARTE'S CAMPAIGNS IN ITALY.—*Engagements at St. Michael, Segonzano, Caldero, La Pietra, St. Martin, &c.—Battle of Arcola.—Buonaparte's Danger.—He writes to Carnot.—Further Operations of the French Army.—Buonaparte's Letter to the Widow Muiron.—He takes Bergamo.—The Standards taken at Arcola presented to the Directory.*

WHILST the Austrians profited by the resistance of Mantua, and by the necessity the French experienced of retaining the greater part of their forces before that place, to form a new army, and reinforce the wreck of that of Wurmser, cantoned on the other side of the Lavio and the Piava, and attempted to establish themselves at Castel-Franco, Massena dispatched from his head quarters at Bassano, Leclerc, chief of brigade, who compelled the enemy to evacuate Castel-Franco on the 11th, and kept them on the other side of the Piava. General Vaubois compelled the Austrians, who attempted to cross the Lavio, to repass the river, but a new army being formed under the command of General Alvinzi, the French were obliged to concentrate themselves, and abandon Trent, Roveredo, Bassano, and Vicenza, and fall back on the line of the Adige.

On the 2d of November General Guieux advanced to St. Michael, and, after an obstinate resistance on the part of the Imperialists succeeded in making himself master of that post, burning the

bridges, which they had thrown over the Adige, and taking 350 prisoners. During this attack, the Imperialists, wishing to make a favourable diversion to aid those who defended St. Michael, marched from their posts at Segonzano and Cembrea, to penetrate to Lavis, and cut off General Guieux's retreat. Vaubois, on learning this movement, detached General Fiorella to meet them, who drove them as far as Segonzano, taking about 100 prisoners.

Buonaparté, being informed that an Austrian corps was advancing, and had already encamped on the Piava, immediately detached General Massena, with a corps of observation, to Bassano, on the Brenta, with orders to retreat to Vicenza the instant the enemy should have passed the Piava. He also ordered General Vaubois to attack the Austrian posts in the Trentin, and above all, to drive them from their positions, between the Lavisio and the Brenta. The attack took place on the 2d, when the French encountered a very spirited resistance; General Guieux carried St. Michael, and burnt the enemy's bridge; but the Austrians rendered abortive the attack of the French on Segonzano, and the 85th demi-brigade suffered greatly. On the 3d Buonaparté ordered Segonzano to be attacked, as the possession of it was necessary; and, at the same moment, being informed that the Imperialists had passed the Piava, he pressed forward in person with Augereau's division; and, having effected a junction with the division of Massena at Vicenza, marched, on the 5th, to meet the Austrians, who had passed the Brenta: it was necessary for the French to strike like a thunder-bolt, and sweep the Imperialists before them. The action was obstinate and bloody, but the advan-

tage inclined to the side of the French, who remained in possession of the field of battle, while the Austrians repassed the Brenta: the Republican army took one piece of cannon, 500 prisoners, and killed a great many; the French General, Lanus, was wounded.

During these transactions the Austrians had attacked General Vaubois, and threatened to turn him in several points; this obliged him to retreat to La Pietra, his right being supported by the mountains, and his left by Mori. On the 7th, a most obstinate action ensued, in which the French took two pieces of cannon, and 1,300 prisoners, but, on the approach of night, a panic seized part of the troops. On the 8th, this division occupied a position at Rivoli and La Corona, by means of a bridge which Buonaparté had ordered to be thrown over the river.

The General in Chief departed on the 7th, and arrived, with some troops, at Verona on the day following at noon. On the 11th, he learned that the Austrians, after leaving Montebello, had encamped at Villa Nova; the troops accordingly advanced from Verona, and fell in with their vanguard at St. Martin, who were routed and pursued by General Augereau, for three miles and a half. On the 12th, at day-break, the French found themselves in presence of the enemy: it was necessary to engage them instantly; the attack was accordingly made with skill and gallantry, Massena's division assailing their left, and Augereau's their right; the success of both was complete; Augereau made himself master of the village of Caldero, and took 200 prisoners; Massena seized on a height that flanked the Imperialists, and took five pieces of cannon; but the rain, which

fell in torrents, having changed suddenly into a kind of cold hail, driven by the wind into the faces of the French troops, was favourable to the enemy. The Austrians, being reinforced by a *corps de reserve*, which had no share in the action, succeeded in retaking the height; and at night both armies retained their respective positions: these inferior engagements, and the necessity the division of Vaubois felt of abandoning successively all their posts in the Tyrol, announced a more important and decisive struggle, which could not be long procrastinated, and a moment of indulgence might have lost the General all the advantages of his conquests.

Buonaparté having learned that the Imperial army, under Field Marshal Alvinzi, approached Verona, for the purpose of forming a junction with the column of his army in the Tyrol, defiled along the Adige, with the divisions of Augereau and Massena, and, in the night of the 14th, threw a bridge of boats across at Ronco, where the French troops passed the river. The General was in hopes of arriving in the morning at Villa-Nova, and by that means taking the enemy's park of artillery and magazines, and attacking them in flank and rear: he had directed General Vaubois to watch with his division the point of Rivoli, and keep in check the column of the Austrian right under General Davidovich; the castle and fort of Brescia, and the posts of Verona, Peschiera, and Porto-Legnago, were in a respectable state of defence. The head quarters of General Alvinzi were at Caldero; but, having got intelligence of the movements of the French, he had sent a regiment of Croats, and some Hungarian regiments, into the village of Arcola, a post extremely

strong by its position, in the midst of marshes and canals.

Before day-break, the divisions of Massena and Augereau, had completed the passage of the Adige, and advanced on the two causeways that traverse an impracticable morass for several miles. The column of the left, commanded by Massena, first encountered and drove in the Austrian advanced posts, while the column under Augereau, after having, in like manner, compelled their posts to fall back, was stopped at the village of Arcola, now occupied by the Imperial troops, who defended the sides of a dyke, along which it was necessary to pass. A canal, that flanked the dyke on the side of the village, hindered the French from turning it, and to get possession of it, they had to pass under the enemy's fire, and cross by a small bridge, upon which the Imperialists kept up a terrible discharge from several of the adjacent houses, which they had fortified. The French troops made several efforts to carry the bridge; but they were repulsed in reiterated attacks: it was in vain that their generals, feeling the importance of the moment, precipitated themselves at the head of the columns, to induce them to pass the little bridge of Arcola; this excess of courage proved only injurious to themselves; for they were almost all wounded, and the Generals Verdier, Bon, Verne, and Lasnes, carried out of the field. Augereau, laying hold of a standard, advanced to the extremity of the bridge, where he remained for several minutes, without producing any effect: it was, however, absolutely necessary to pass this bridge, or take a circuitous route of several leagues, which would have made the whole operations miscarry. Buona-

parté, apprised of the difficulties experienced by Augereau, ordered General Guieux to descend the Adige, with a corps of 2,000 men, and cross the river, under the protection of the light artillery, at a ferry two miles below Ronco, and opposite Albaredo; he was then to bear down on the village of Arcola and turn it; but this march was long, and the day far advanced; it was, however, indispensable to carry Arcola, in order to get on the enemy's rear, Buonaparté, therefore, hastened to the spot; he asked the soldiers if they still were the conquerors of Lodi; his presence produced an emotion of enthusiasm among the troops, which confirmed him in his determination to risk the passage: he leaped off his horse, and, seizing a standard, rushed forward at the head of the grenadiers towards the bridge, crying, *Follow your General!* The column moved forward a moment, and had reached within thirty paces of the bridge, when the terrible fire of the Austrians, made it recoil, at the very instant the enemy were on the point of flying. Generals Vignole and Lasnes were wounded, and Muiron, the General's aid-de-camp, was killed. Buonaparté himself was thrown from his horse into a marsh, from whence he extricated himself with difficulty under the enemy's fire: he mounted again, and the column rallied; but the Imperialists did not advance from their entrenchments, to take advantage of the fortunate moment, as they ought to have done.

The French were obliged to renounce the design of forcing the village in front, and to wait the arrival of General Guieux, who, although he did not reach Arcola till night, succeeded in carrying the village, taking four pieces of cannon, and a great

number of prisoners. The Austrian General persevered in his object, and Buonaparté thought it expedient to evacuate the village, on learning that the Imperialists had removed all their baggage and magazines to Vicenza, in order to advance towards Ronco. At day-break, on the 16th, the Austrians attacked the French in every direction: the column of General Masséna on the left defeated the enemy, after an obstinate contest, and pursued them to the gates of Caldero, taking 1,500 prisoners, with six pieces of cannon, and four standards. Augereau's column, in like manner, repulsed the Austrians, but could not recover the village of Arcola, notwithstanding repeated attempts. A judgment may be formed of the firmness displayed on both sides, from the different attacks that happened at this village, where several generals were wounded. The same evening, Buonaparté, at the head of a column, carrying fascines, advanced to the canal on the right of the Adige, with a design to effect a passage, but found it impracticable from the rapidity of the current. With this column, Adjutant-General Vial afterwards traversed the canal with the water up to his neck, but was obliged to return without effecting a diversion of any consequence: in this expedition it was, that Elliot was killed.

In the night the French General ordered bridges to be thrown over the canals and marshes, and a new attack was planned for the day following: General Masséna was to advance by the causeway on the left, while Augereau, for the third time, attacked the village; and a third column was to cross the canal, in order to turn the village. Part of the garrison of Porto Legnago, with 50 dragoons, and four pieces

of artillery, received orders to make a diversion, by turning the enemy's left. Early in the morning the engagement commenced; the Imperialists, having vigorously attacked the centre, obliged it to fall back, on which Buonaparte drew the 32d from the left, and placed it in ambush in the woods: the moment the Austrians, in impelling back the centre, were on the point of turning the right of the French, General Gardanne, at the head of the 32d, sallied from his ambuscade, and, taking them in flank, made a dreadful carnage. The Austrian's left was supported by the marshes, and kept in check the French right by their superior numbers. Buonaparte ordered Hercules, the officer of his guides, to select 25 men of his company, and, advancing half a league along the Adige, turn all the marshes, which supported the Austrian left, and fall afterwards at full gallop on the enemy's backs, at the same time making several trumpets sound. This manœuvre was completely successful: the Austrian infantry gave way, but, although retreating, still made resistance; when a small column, of eight or nine hundred men, with four pieces of cannon, whom the General in Chief had directed to defile through Porto-Legnago, in the rear of the Imperialists, succeeded in putting them to the route. General Massena, who had returned to the centre, marched straight to the village of Arcola, which he took, and pursued the enemy nearly as far as the village of St. Bonifacio.

In this battle the French took between four and 5,000 prisoners, four stand of colours, 18 pieces of cannon, a great many waggons, several of which were loaded with pontoons, and an immense number of ladders, collected by the Austrian army, with a



design to scale Verona: the Imperialists lost at least 4,000 killed, and had as many wounded. On the part of the French, besides the Generals already mentioned, Generals Robert and Gardanne were wounded: Adjutant-general Vaudelin and Buonaparté's aides-de-camp, Elliot and Muiron, were killed.

Meanwhile the left wing, under General Vaubois was attacked, and his important position at Rivoli forced; this uncovered the blockade of Mantua. The French army left Arcola at day-break: the cavalry were sent to Vicenza in pursuit of the Imperialists, and Buonaparté repaired to Verona, where he had left General Kilmaine with 3,000 men: the division of Vaubois was reinforced, and posted at Castelnovo, while Augereau occupied Verona, and Massena the vicinity of Villa-Nova; preparations were made for chasing the enemy into the Tyrol, after which the army could wait in tranquillity for the reduction of Mantua.

From his head quarters at Verona, Buonaparté wrote a letter to the Director Carnot, in which he expressed his hope of being able, in ten days, to address him from the head quarters at Mantua. "Never," said he, "was a field of battle so valorously disputed as that of Arcola; scarcely have I any generals left; their courage and devotion to their country were without example." The General of brigade, Lasnes, appeared in the field of battle, although the wound he had received at Governolo was not yet cured: he was twice wounded on the first day of the engagement, and laid on a bed, in great agony, when, hearing that Buonaparté, in person, was at the head of the column, he threw himself out of bed,

mounted his horse, and hastened to find the General. As he could not walk, he was obliged to remain on horseback ; but, at the head of the bridge of Arcola, he received a blow, that extended him senseless. "I assure you," concludes the General, "that it required every effort to vanquish : the enemy, headed by their generals, were numerous and obstinate ; and several of the latter were killed."

Never was an army placed in a more critical situation, than that of Buonaparté's upon this occasion : the Imperialists had made the greatest efforts, and had brought from the interior of the Austrian states, all that remained of their disposable forces : these troops had posted to their place of destination with the utmost celerity, and by these means they had been enabled to form in Italy a new army, more considerable than the two already exterminated, before the succours sent from the interior of France to General Buonaparté, could form a junction with his army : it required nothing less than the genius of that intrepid warrior, and the zeal and constancy of all his brethren in-arms, to triumph over the many obstacles which the cool courage and bravery of the Austrian armies opposed to his successes.

However considerable the loss sustained by Alvinzi may have been, his army was far from being destroyed : driven back into the mountains, it became difficult to attack him, and Buonaparté could not forget, that Mantua, which Wurmser occupied with a strong garrison, still held out in his rear. The important point was to keep Alvinzi in check, and exclude him from the valley of the Adige, and all the passes by which he could communicate with Mantua. General Vaubois advanced to Rivoli, but the Impe-

tialists repulsed and drove him beyond Castel-Nova. Buonaparté directed General Massena's division to repass the Adige, and effect a junction at Villa-Franca with that of General Vaubois; then, with united forces, to march to Castel-Nova on the 21st, whilst the division of General Augereau proceeded to the heights of St. Anne, in order to cut off the enemy's retreat, by securing the valley of the Adige at Dolce. General Joubert, commanding the advanced guard of the united divisions of Massena and Vaubois, came up with the Imperialists on the heights of Campara, and after a slight contest, succeeded in surrounding a corps of the enemy's rear guard, and taking 1,200 prisoners, among whom was the colonel of the regiment of Berbach: a corps of three or four hundred Austrians were drowned in the Adige in attempting to escape. The French, not contented with having retaken the position of Rivoli and La Corona, pursued the enemy to Preabocco; while Augereau engaged and dispersed an Austrian corps, took 300 prisoners, burnt two boats of pontoons, upon the Queta, and carried off a considerable quantity of baggage.

General Wurmser made a sortie from Mantua on the 23d, at seven in the morning; but, after a long and heavy cannonade, General Kilmaine obliged him to return, and took 200 men, a howitzer, and two pieces of cannon. The Marshal commanded the sortie in person: it was the third time he had ventured to make a sally, and each time with indifferent success.

Having noticed the letter which the General wrote to General Clarke, on the death of his nephew, Elliot, it is proper to observe here, that he also wrote to con-

sole the widow Muiron, that her husband had fallen at his side on the field of Arcola. "You have," said he, "lost a spouse, who was dear to you; I have lost a friend, to whom I have been long attached; but our country has suffered more than us both, by losing an officer so distinguished for his talents, and his dauntless courage. If I can aid you, or your infant, in any thing, I beseech you to reckon on my utmost exertions." In a letter to the Directory, the General mentions, that the Citizen Muiron had served since the first moments of the Revolution in the corps of artillery, and had particularly distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon, where he was wounded, while entering the celebrated English redoubt by an embrasure. His father was then in arrest as a farmer-general: the young Muiron, covered with the blood he had shed for his country, presented himself before the National Convention, and the Revolutionary Committee of his section, and obtained the liberation of his father. On the 4th of October he commanded a division of artillery, that defended the Convention: he was deaf to the seductions of his acquaintances and friends. "I asked him," continues Buonaparté, "if the Government might reckon on him;"—"Yes," replied he, "I have taken an oath to support the Republic: I am part of the armed force, and will obey my commanders; I am moreover, from what I have seen, hostile to all revolutionists, and equally so to those who adopt their maxims and conduct with an intent to re-establish a throne, or who wish to restore the cruel administration, under which my father and my relations have suffered so long: he comported himself as a brave man, and was extremely useful on that day which

saved liberty. Since the commencement of the campaign in Italy, Muiron has rendered essential service in almost every action; and, at last, fell gloriously in the field of Arcola, leaving a young widow in a state of pregnancy."

Under colour of having received offence from the Government of Venice, Buonaparté took possession of the citadel of Bergamo. General Baraguey D'Hilliers, commandant of Lombardy, addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of the town, in which he stated that circumstances constrained him to occupy the town and citadel, in order to anticipate the sinister projects of the enemies of the French Republic, and keep the theatre of war at a distance from the habitations of the Bergamese.

On the 28th, the army of General Alvinzi was posted on the Brenta, and in the Tyrol, while the army of the Republic stretched along the Adige, and occupied the line of Monte-baldo, La Corona, and Rivoli, having one advanced guard in front of Verona, and another before Porto-Legnago. Mantua was blockaded with the greatest care, and was reduced to the last extremity, as the garrison fed only on horse-flesh, whilst General Buonaparté, confident of its surrender, occupied himself in the interim with his correspondence, and in preparing for the ensuing campaign. The French General remarked to the Directory, "that the army of Italy abhorred all new revolutionists, whatever might be their pretext. No more revolution! . . . this is the dearest hope of the soldier; although, in his heart, he wishes for the establishment of internal tranquillity, he clamours not for peace, because he knows

that this is the only way not to obtain it ; but he prepares himself for new battles, that he may acquire peace more certainly by victory."

The standards taken at Arcola arrived, and, on the 30th, were received by the Executive Directory, in a public sitting : the Minister of War presented Lemarois, chief of battalion, and aid-de-camp of General Buonaparté ; who, after delivering a long and declamatory harangue, filled with encomiums on his Commander, and his brothers in arms, was answered by a complimentary speech, in the same style. " Return," said the President, " to those brave warriors, tell them the marble of the Pantheon awaits their names, and that they are already engraven on the hearts of all true Frenchmen."



## CHAPTER XIV.

*Consequences of the Campaign of 1796.—Spain joins France.—State of Parties in England.—Lord Malmfbury negotiates for Peace.—French prepare to invade Ireland.—Expedition frustrated by a Storm.—The Objects of the united Irish in requiring a French-Force to land.—Motives of the Court of Naples for making Peace.—The Pope arms against the free States in the Romagna.—Buonaparté arrives at Bologna.—Engagements at St. Michael and Montebaldo.—Battle of Rivoli.—Engagements at Anguieri and St. George.—Battle of La Corona.—Recapitulation of the Successes of Buonaparté within Four Days.*

THE campaign of 1796 produced two very important consequences, that promised to affect the general interests and peace of Europe; the first was, that the Directory and people of France seemed to conclude, that their arms were not likely to succeed beyond the boundary of the Rhine; the second was, that the Allied Powers seemed insensibly to abandon all idea of reconquering the States on the French side of the Rhine, which France had subdued and annexed to her own territory. The people of all the belligerent nations panted, most ardently, for peace; and the transmarine exploits of the campaign, were not such as were likely to throw any obstacle in the way of that desirable object. England was successful, in getting possession of several places belonging to her enemy in the East and West Indies, and in most of her naval actions; but, except the island of Ceylon, all those achievements were of trifling value, and that

value was considerably reduced, by the consideration of Spain now joining France in the war, which added the naval power of that country, to the fleets of France and Holland. But it was not merely against the gigantic power of the French armaments that the Allies were called to direct their exertions, there was a sort of political-moral power in every state that embarrassed its own government, and fought the battles of the Republicans as successfully as their own armies. In England this inferior combat was sustained by the Jacobins, Republicans, and Whigs; who, though they despised and hated each other, all united to oppose the Government, and their opposition was so violent during this campaign that the administration seemed driven to the necessity of making peace, if it were likely that the French Government would accede to anything like reasonable terms.

A preliminary step to this disposition had been taken, shortly after the installation of the Directory had given the French Government the appearance of a settled form; for a message had been delivered to Parliament from his Majesty, announcing the satisfaction with which he saw a change of system taking place in France, which he hoped would remove all difficulties that might oppose his wish for a general pacification, and a formal application was made to the French Government, Sept. 9, for passports for a British Envoy to go to Paris to make overtures for peace; in consequence of this application Lord Malmesbury made his entry into Paris, as Plenipotentiary of the King of Great Britain, on the 24th of October 1796, and, on the following day, had his first conference with the Minister for Foreign



**Affairs.** The negotiation was not commenced under very favourable auspices, for the Directory took occasion to declare, in a note, by which they announced their willingness to treat, that they doubted the sincerity of the English Government, and thus evinced on their own part, a disposition directly opposite to conciliation.

The British Minister declared the willingness of his court to remove all obstacles to the desired object, that might arise out of mere forms; and stated at once, that it was willing to take for the basis of peace, the principle of restitution. Britain having gained many possessions from France by means of her *naval* superiority, and France having obtained many conquests from the *Allies* of Britain, by means of its *military* superiority. This proposal was sufficient to shew, that England did not carry on the war for the selfish purpose of increasing her own power, at the expense of her Allies, and that she was desirous of peace, even at the expense of her conquests, if France would be willing to make a similar sacrifice. The Directory, however, rejected the principle with the most insolent disdain: they pretended that they had bound themselves by law not to abandon their conquests; and the only fair conclusion to be drawn from the discussions that took place, between their Minister and Lord Malmesbury, was, *that they were determined to keep what they had taken, and receive back what they had lost.* The English negotiator declared, that he was not possessed of powers to admit this principle, upon which the French Minister, Charles De la Croix, haughtily commanded him to go home and fetch them, and to take care, *that* neither he, nor any of the persons he brought

with him, were found in Paris, after the expiration of 48 hours.

It was impossible to reconcile this insolent conduct of the French Government with any of the principles of civilized life, and, therefore, the thinking part of mankind judged, that it proceeded from a determination to avoid making peace, under a persuasion that they should be able to annoy their enemy in some way that would enable them to treat more advantageously at some future period. This supposition was very soon after realized, and the Government of Britain were shortly convinced, that, instead of preparing to march to Paris, all its efforts would be necessary to secure the safety of its own dominions.

Scarcely had the negociation been broken off, before the French dispatched a force against Ireland, to act in concert with a very powerful body of the natives, who were resolved to declare that country independent of Great Britain. The body of Irish, united for this purpose, had dispatched Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and Mr. Arthur O'Connor, as their ambassadors extraordinary to the Directory of France, to obstruct the negociation with Lord Malmesbury; and these persons, in conjunction with the French General, Hoche, arranged the plan of an attack on Ireland, from which the Directory hoped to reap much advantage. An expedition, consisting of 18 sail of the line, and 13 frigates, was fitted out at Brest, for the purpose of conveying troops to the western coast of Ireland. The armament put to sea, December 15, but it was overtaken by a storm, which dispersed the greatest part of the fleet, and obliged it to return to port, in a very shattered state.

Eight sail only reached the coast of Ireland, where being unable to learn the destiny of their commander, and the rest of the fleet, they continued only three days, and then quitted Bantry Bay, without attempting to land.

There was a mystery attending this cautious expedition, which the English Government could not understand: it was known, that the United Irishmen wished the French to aid them, and that they only required a few able commanders to enable them to take the field; it was, therefore, surprising, that they did not rise, and assist their friends to make good their landing; it was equally well known, that the French were desirous of raising the standard on the Irish soil. How then came they not to land? The truth was, that the Irish wanted to establish an independent republic for themselves, and they only required the French to aid them with a small force, to act as auxiliaries,—whilst the object of the French was, to make a conquest of Ireland, that they might be able either to keep it for the annoyance of Great Britain, or to barter it with that power to secure better conditions of peace; and hence it was the desire of France to land a sufficient force to suppress the Irish, as well as to expel the English.

Owing to this difference of opinion, the Irish leaders did not instruct their several fraternities to assist their allies in landing, and the French Commander, however sufficient his force was to answer the views of the malcontents, would not land with a force which he knew to be so inadequate to the designs of the Government from whom he had received his instructions. This fleet, therefore, returned into port, after encountering two very violent storms, in

which three ships of the line, and three frigates foundered, with the greatest part of their crews.

A similar disposition to that by which the Irish was actuated, influenced the people wherever the French army entered, and the plausible promises held out by the conquerors served to wean the inhabitants from every degree of attachment to their old governments. The states of Milan, Reggio, Bologna, Ferrara, and Modena, had gone through all the ceremonies of declaring themselves *free*, and, under the illuminating instructions of the French Commissaries and Generals, formed such new arrangements of police as should be best calculated to prevent the return of their former magistrates.

Wretched as the condition is, to which the misguided policy of most established governments think it necessary to reduce a great part of their population, there was at this period no people in the civilized world (not even the peasantry of Ireland) so borne down by the curses and miseries, attendant upon a *proud* and *slothful* government, as the Lazzaroni of Naples. Such a people could hardly resist any change, that might be offered to them by a fortunate conqueror, and it was a probability, that they would prefer any kind of government to the stupid tyranny by which they were actually oppressed, that induced the King to seek the security of his power, in peace. By the treaty entered into between Naples and France, the King bound himself not to furnish either ships, arms, or men, to the enemies of France, and not to suffer more than four ships of war, belonging to any of the Belligerent Powers, to enter the port of Naples at one time.

The Court of Rome, although little danger could

arise from its exertions, had armed and advanced towards the Romagna, the few troops it was able to keep on foot, with an intention, as was suspected, to disturb the states which had declared themselves free. From intercepted correspondence, it appeared to be the wish of the Emperor, that Wurmser, in case of not being relieved in time, should endeavour to escape from Mantua with his garrison, by throwing himself into the territories of the Pope. Buonaparté drew from all the divisions of his army a body of troops, who were to assemble at Bologna, and form a moveable column: and, as the detachments arrived in different directions, this circumstance gave them the appearance of a corps amounting to upwards of 15,000 men. Rome became apprehensive that this army was intended to act against her, and this belief produced the desired effect. The eye of Buonaparté was on the Po, the Adige, the movements of the enemy's left, and the exertions which General Wurmser might make either to effect a junction or escape, and the most precise orders were given to all the divisions of the army, in immediate service, to be ready for action.

On the 9th of January, 1797, the Commander in Chief arrived at Bologna with 2,000 men, in order to make an impression on the Court of Rome, by the proximity of his situation, and induce it to adopt a pacific system: he also opened a negotiation with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, relative to the garrison of Leghorn; and he thought his presence at Bologna would infallibly bring this affair to a conclusion. The 10th was spent in reviewing the troops, and making the necessary preparations: at night, the

General learned that the enemy were in motion on all their line, and that the Austrian division, which was at Padua, had, on the 8th, attacked the advanced-guard of General Augereau, at Bevilaqua, in front of Porto-Legnago. Adjutant-General Dufaux, who commanded that advanced guard, after fighting the whole day, retired to Sanzeno, and on the morrow to Porto-Legnago; but his spirited resistance gave him time to advertise the whole French line of the enemy's march.

Buonaparté ordered the moveable column, which he had assembled, to set out, by a forced march, to reinforce General Augereau's division, and oppose all the the enemy's enterprises on the Lower Adige. He himself set out for the blockade of Mantua, and after giving all the necessary orders, proceeded from thence to Verona, where he arrived on the morning of the 12th, at the moment the Imperialists attacked, in force, the advanced guard of Massena's division, posted at St. Michael. The contest was obstinate, but at the end of two hours, the Austrians were completely repulsed, with the loss of three cannon, and 600 prisoners. On the same day, and at the same hour, the Imperialists attacked the head of the French line, by Montebaldo, where they made themselves masters of a redoubt; but Joubert, pushing forward at the head of his carabineers, retook the redoubt, drove the enemy before him, and, having thrown them into disorder, made 300 prisoners. On the night of the 12th an Austrian column fought the whole night with the French grand guards, but were repulsed. All the reports, brought in on the morning of the 13th, announced a general movement of the enemy, of which the attack on the preceding

day formed a part. The Austrians, who, to do them justice, had completely succeeded in concealing their movements, kept the French in an uncertainty, whether the main body of their forces was at Rivoli, or on the Lower Adige : Buonaparté, therefore, thought proper to continue at Verona, ready to march wherever circumstances might render his presence necessary.

On the 13th the Austrians threw a bridge across the river at Auguiari, a league distant from Porto-Legnago, by which bridge their advanced guard passed ; and, in the evening of the same day, Buonaparté learned, that the post of La Corona had been attacked by forces so superior in number, that General Joubert was forced to evacuate it, in order to assume a position in front of Rivoli ; and that he had executed this movement, in face of the enemy, with a steadiness, which evinced the desire the troops felt to engage the Imperialists in a place more favourable to the inferiority of their number. The General received intelligence, that the enemy had commenced a lively cannonade on the Adige, between Ronco and Porto-Legnago. The forces, ranged in front of General Joubert, no longer left any uncertainty as to the intentions of the Austrians : it was plain, that Alvinzi wished to penetrate by Rivoli with his principal forces, which exceeded more than double the number of those under the command of Joubert, and in this direction, to reach Mantua. Buonaparté instantly formed his resolution ; and having given instructions on the Lower Adige and at Verona, put in motion a part of the division of General Massena : he ordered the troops, under the command of General Rey, at Defanzano, to advance in diffe-

rent columns, to Rivoli; and at eight o'clock in the evening, set out in person with all his *etat-major* for that place, which he reached at midnight. The dispositions of General Joubert were no longer necessary after the arrival of these reinforcements, and of General Buonaparté in person, who having assumed the command, directed Joubert to resume the important position in front of the *plateau* of Rivoli, and particularly the post of San-Marco, that had been evacuated. This post was the key of the position of the *plateau*, the only point by which the enemy could advance their cavalry and artillery, between the Adige and the lake of Garda.

The Commander in Chief, accompanied by the Generals commanding the divisions and his *etat-major*, spent the night in reconnoitring the ground, and the position of the Imperialists, who occupied a formidable line, nearly 20,000 strong, having their right at Caprino, and their left behind San-Marco. Alvinzi had, several days before, formed his plan of attack for the 13th, when he hoped to surround General Joubert's division. This plan he now endeavoured to execute, without entertaining a suspicion of the arrival of the French General in person, or of the reinforcements Joubert had received at the moment the engagement began. The order given to retake the small posts in front of the *plateau* of Rivoli, occasioned, during the whole night, a fire of musketry between the advanced posts: but the recapture of the position of San-Marco by the French, at five in the morning, produced a general battle, an event which began to give great uneasiness to Alvinzi, as it necessarily retarded, for some hours, his plan of attack.



General Joubert, at the head of a part of his column, attacked the Imperialists along the line of the heights of San-Marco. The rest of his division occupied the centre of the line, the left of which was to be successively reinforced from the divisions of Massena and General Rey. The 18th demi-brigade received orders to advance by the left of the line of attack, and follow the directions of General Buonaparté, which were not to spread the troops, but only to extend their flanks. General Joubert having made considerable progress along the heights on the right bank of the Adige towards La Corona, the rest of the line likewise advanced, and obtained some successes: the centre occupied the heights that command the village of St. Martin. The 14th demi-brigade, under Berthier, in the centre, had directions to act according to circumstances. This reserve advanced, having previously detached a battalion to attack St. Martin the moment the left of the French line was losing ground; this movement was the more dangerous, as the troops that followed the Austrians on the heights to the left had lost some advantages. Buonaparté proceeded, in person, to the left, but in the mean time, the 29th and 85th demi-brigades had fallen back: the battalion of the 14th, which had driven the Imperialists from St. Martin, was repulsed, but kept the enemy in check by its spirited fire from the hedges surrounding the village. The height occupied by this demi-brigade, covered the only opening by which the right, under General Joubert, could retire; and the Imperialists had collected all their forces to bear down on the centre. Buonaparté, feeling the importance of this post, and observing

the critical situation in which the troops were placed, being completely turned on their left by a part of the enemy's right, hastened to the place, at the same time ordering the 32d demi-brigade, that had arrived from Verona, to advance immediately, under the command of General Massena: they instantly forced the enemy to retire, and the posts formerly occupied by the 29th and 85th were recovered; the right, which was on the elevated bank, had remarked the momentary disorder of the left, and had fallen back to the height in the centre, and defiled by the passage, covered by the height, occupied by the 14th demi-brigade. General Berthier had dispatched the 2d battalion to favour the retreat of the troops occupying the hedges of St. Martin, while he, with the 3d, occupied the height in the centre, and, surrounded by the enemy's centre, and a part of their right, maintained its position for several minutes, but the right of the Republicans was driven to Rivoli in great disorder.

The battle had now lasted three hours: one of the Austrian columns, which had filed along the Adige, proceeded to the *plateau* of Rivoli, with an intent to carry it, and, in this direction, threatened to turn the right and centre. Buonaparté ordered General Leclerc to charge the Imperialists, if they succeeded in carrying the *plateau*, while Lasalle, chief of Squadron, was directed, with a detachment of dragoons, to take in flank the Austrian infantry, who attacked the French centre. At the same instant Joubert sent down some battalions from the heights of San-Marco, who precipitated themselves on the *plateau*; and the Imperialists, who had already penetrated to it, were driven into the valley of the Adige, leaving a great

number of dead, and part of their artillery. Nearly at the same moment, the Austrian column, which had been some time on its march to turn the French, and cut off their retreat, formed in order of battle behind Rivoli, in the rear of the French, and covered all the heights between the Adige and the Lake of Garda, so that the French line was completely turned, and all communication cut off with Verona and Peschiera: two battalions of the Austrians, confident of success, exclaimed, *We have them!* and, proceeding by the valley of the Adige, advanced with fury to carry the entrenchments of Rivoli; but were repulsed in three attacks: meanwhile, Buonaparté had planted four pieces of light artillery, that cannonaded the right of the Austrian line. The 18th, and some troops of the 75th demi-brigade, under Generals Brune and Monnier, advanced, in three columns, and attacking the right wing of the Austrian line, that occupied an advantageous height in the rear of the French; in an instant the whole Austrian column, consisting of 4,000 men, were taken prisoners.

Buonaparté having received no intelligence of General Augereau, conjectured that his communication with Verona might be intercepted: the Imperialists were still masters of La Corona; he ordered Joubert to attack that place on the 15th, and he also directed the troops, which Joubert could spare to proceed towards Verona and Castelnovo, and he set out in person, for the latter place, where he learned that the Austrian column of about 10,000 men, under the command of General Provera, had, in the night of the 13th, crossed the Adige, under the fire of a numerous artillery at Anguiari, and the General Guieux, who guarded the Adige in that quarter, had been obliged

to retire to Ronco. Having arrived at Villafranca, he ordered four demi-brigades to advance from that place; and conjecturing that Augereau, if not defeated, must be following the column of Provera, he proceeded, in person, to Roverbella, where he arrived on the evening of the 14th, with his reinforcements. Here he learned, that Augereau had on the same day collected all his troops, with an intent to fall on Provera's column; which had no other object, after crossing the river, than to march rapidly to Mantua. General Point commanded the left of the attack, and General Lafnes the right, whilst Generals Guieux and Bon marched from Ronco to take the enemy in the rear: the attack was made with great boldness, and the Imperialists lost near 1,500 prisoners, several officers, and 10 pieces of ordnance; their bridge across the Adige was burned. The rest of the Austrian column filed off towards Mantua; and on the 15th, at noon, General Provera arrived, with 6,000 men, at the suburb of St. George, and attacked it: it was well defended by entrenchments; General Miolis, who, on being summoned to surrender, answered, that he would fight; and Provera, unable to make any impression on this post, discontinued the attack.

The Imperialists, after the affair of the 14th, having maintained a post at San-Marco, Joubert detached General Vial to attack it on the night of the 14th. The division of the centre, commanded by General Baraguey-d'Hilliers, proceeded to St. Martin, from whence they drove the Imperialists, and took their artillery. The column of the right, under General Vial, disputed the heights almost the whole of

the 15th, with the Imperialists; but Joubert, who had directed a column, under General Vaux, to turn them, and gain La Corona before they could reach it, by approaching in the rear of Montebaldo, arrived there before General Vaux. The Austrians now, finding their retreat cut off, were thrown into confusion, and 6,000 of them being surrounded, laid down their arms; those who occupied the valley of the Adige retiring in disorder towards the Tyrol.

In the night of the 15th Buonaparté hastened to St. Anthony, where he gave orders to attack the column of Provera on the 16th. This General finding that he could not make himself master of St. George by main force, and having received no intelligence of the main body of Alvinzi's army, could now only indulge a hope of being able to engage the French with advantage, when acting in combination with a powerful sally of the garrison of Mantua. Buonaparté, therefore, laboured to prevent this junction, and to surround the column of Provera: General Dumas was posted, with a corps of observation at St. Anthony, in front of the citadel; General Serrurier, with a column of 1,500 men, began his march an hour before day-break, and proceeded to La Favorite, whilst General Victor, with the 57th and 18th demi-brigades, turned General Provera. The Imperialists had profited of the night-time, to dispatch a corps, by the citadel, to make themselves masters of La Favorite, but while executing this movement, they were vigorously attacked by the van of Serrurier's column: the garrison, at the same time, made a sally in considerable force, though without being able

to gain La Favorite, they found it impossible to effect a junction with Provera's column : these troops, however, having got possession of St. Anthony, Buonaparté, detached a reinforcement of two battalions to that quarter, which prevented the garrison from making any farther progress, notwithstanding all their efforts. General Victor now attacked, and turned, General Provera's troops, and General Miolis, who occupied St. George, made a falliy so opportunely, that Provera, part of whose infantry and cavalry had already laid down their arms, found himself, and the rest of his column, completely surrounded ; on which the 32d demi-brigade, supported by the 75th, compelled this gallant General, and the remainder of his column, to surrender at discretion. The French, upon this occasion, took 6,000 infantry, 700 cavalry, 22 pieces of cannon, all the waggons and baggage, and the entire corps of the Volunteers of Vienna. Four hundred of the garrison of Mantua were also taken ; the rest of the troops, who had sallied out of the forts, having effected their retreat : after this the French again occupied their posts for carrying on the blockade.

General Alvinzi's army was now quite enfeebled : in the space of four days the Republicans had fought two pitched battles, six inferior actions, and took nearly 25,000 prisoners, among whom were a lieutenant-general, two generals, and 12 or 15 colonels, with 20 standards, 60 pieces of cannon, with their waggons, and all the baggage of General Provera's column, besides killing or wounding about 6,000 men. General Rey was charged

with conducting the prisoners to Grenoble by detachments of 3,000 men, at the distance of one day's march from each other, under the escort of the 58th demi-brigade, and a squadron of cavalry. All the troops performed wonders. "The Roman legions," said Buonaparte in his dispatches, "are reported to have marched twenty-four miles a day: our brigades, though fighting at intervals, march thirty."



## CHAPTER XV.

*Various Actions in Italy.—The French enter Trent, and obtain great Advantages.—Mantua capitulates, after a most gallant Defence.—List of the immense Quantities of Stores taken there.—Augereau presents Sixty Standards to the Directory.—Speech of the Minister of War.—Augereau's Speech.—Buonaparté's Proclamation to the Army of Italy.*

**DURING** these transactions the division of General Augereau proceeded to Padua ; and, after passing the Brenta, advanced to Citadella, from whence the Austrians fled at its approach. General Massena, who had left Vicenza on the 24th, to unite with Augereau, and drive the Austrians from Bassano, learned on the 26th, that the enemy had evacuated that place during the night, and had proceeded along the banks of the Brenta to Carpenedolo and Crespo : he, therefore, directed General Menard to march with the 25th demi-brigade, filing along the right bank of the Brenta, to Carpenedolo, and, at the same time, ordered another party, with two pieces of artillery, to proceed to this village by the left bank of the Brenta : these troops came up with the Imperialists near Carpenedolo, when a very sharp contest took place on the bridge, but the latter, after a desperate resistance, were forced to retreat, leaving 200 dead, and 900 prisoners, among whom were a major, and twelve other officers. The division of General Joubert marched in pursuit of the Austrians, who fled into the defiles of the Tyrol, where he encountered



their rear guard, and, at Avio, after a slight action, took 300 prisoners.

The Imperialists retired to Mori and Torbola, having their right covered by the lake, and their left by the Adige. General Murat embarked with 200 men, and landed his troops at Torbola: General Vial, at the head of the light infantry, after a long march through the snow, and along the most rugged mountains, turned the position of the Austrians, and obliged a body of 450 men, and 12 officers, to surrender. General Joubert entered Roveredo, and the Austrians having fortified, with the greatest care, the pass of Calliano, rendered famous by the victory which the French had gained there on their first entering the Tyrol, appeared disposed to contest their entrance into Trent; but this effort was of the same kind, as the thousand puny attempts which had already marked the irresolute and unsystematic conduct of the Allies, as only entitled to derision and contempt. General Beliard endeavoured to turn the right of the Austrians, while General Vial, continuing his march along the right bank of the Adige, routed them, took 300 prisoners, and arrived at Trent, where he found 2,000 sick and wounded, whom the Austrians had left behind them in their flight, and recommended to the humanity of the French; several magazines were also captured at this place. During these transactions, General Massena ordered two demi-brigades to advance, and attack the castle of La Scala, between Feltra and Primolazo, but its defenders fled on the approach of the French: and retired behind the Prada, leaving a part of their baggage behind them.

The division of General Joubert, after making itself master of Trent, proceeded to take the position of Lavis and Segonzano. The brigade of Vial attacked the village of Lavis, where the enemy were in force; the 4th, 17th, and 29th demi-brigades of light infantry, supported by the 14th, seized on the height commanding the village on the right, whilst a detachment of the troops, under General Vial, drove back the enemy, and pursued them as far as St. Michael, taking 800 prisoners: the 29th demi-brigade alone entirely defeated 3,000 Hungarians. Next day the enemy requested a suspension of arms for 24 hours, but were answered by a new attack on the part of the French. The junction of the divisions under Massena and Joubert decided the fate of Mantua, as it was rendered certain that the city could not possibly be supplied with fresh succours.

The gallant, but unfortunate, Wurmser had made frequent sallies, but had always been overcome; yet his valour and intrepidity, had gained him the admiration even of the enemy he fought with: the siege which he sustained, is said to have cost the Emperor 22,000, and the French 24,000 men; and, at last it was not abandoned for want of courage, but from the hard pressure of famine and disease. On the 2d of February, 1797, a conference was held between Generals Wurmser and Serrurier, to fix the articles of capitulation, when it appeared that the hospitals were crowded with sick, and that all the horses had been devoured by that part of the garrison who had survived the dreadful conflicts without, and the horrors within the walls. On this occasion Buonaparté displayed the generosity of a soldier towards Marshal Wurmser, a veteran 70 years





*General Wurmsier.*

*Pub. by M. Jones April 1867.*

of age; who, after losing the greater part of his army, and the country of the Tyrol, conceived the daring project of reaching and taking refuge in Mantua, although distant from it not less than five days march; and who accomplished this object in spite of the efforts of a Buonaparté to prevent him.

The citadel was taken possession of on the 3d of February: the Austrians marched out with the honours of war, but laid down their arms on the glacis, and became prisoners. General Wurmser was exempted, together with his whole suite, the General officers, the *etat-major*, and whoever else the brave Veteran thought proper to nominate. He was allowed 100 cavalry, six pieces of cannon, and their waggons, and 500 persons of his own selection; and the 700 men, by whom he was accompanied, were not to appear in a hostile manner against the French Republic for the space of three months. The rights, privileges, property, and religion of the inhabitants were to be preserved inviolate, and no inquiry was to be instituted respecting their conduct who had espoused the cause of the Emperor. Intelligence of this surrender was received with the most lively joy at Paris, and the Constituted Authorities took every means to give éclat to the event.

— On the 18th of February, the Executive Directory received the new trophies of the army of Italy; and, on their repairing to the hall of public audience, the standards taken in the late engagements, were introduced amidst reiterated acclamations of *Vive la République!* These ensigns were preceded by the Minister of War, accompanied by the chief of squadron, Bessières, who was entrusted by the General in Chief with the charge of presenting them to the Directory. The minister, after observing in his ad-

dress, that the army of Italy, always victorious, still continued to present new monuments of its glory, informed the Directory, that they now beheld the trophies of its last successes,—the standards of Alvinzy, and of the captive Provera.—“At this moment, said he, 30,000 of these Austrians, who had flattered themselves with compelling us to repass the Alps, climb those Alps themselves; but they climb them—vanquished, disarmed, and prisoners!”

With the standards, was presented the following LIST of the principal Articles of Artillery in the town and citadel of MANTUA, on the 2d of February, 1797:

Brafs Pieces.—Austrian pieces, from a calibre of 36	
to 16 .....	126
..... 15 and under .....	175
..... Mortars .....	56
..... Swivels .....	2
..... Small mortars for grenades .....	40
..... Boites de rejouissance.....	10
..... Small pieces for vessels on the lake .....	7
Iron pieces from a calibre of 6 to 12 .....	21
..... Swivels .....	4

---

Total.....500

---

Field pieces for the defence of the place and the ad-	
vanced works .....	43
Howitzers .....	16
Muskets, of which 5,000 were in good condition...	17,115
Wood and other articles for the reparation of arms, &c.	
Pistols, of which 2,500 were in good condition...	4,484
A great quantity of wood, &c. for repairing do.	
New iron in bars .....	lbs. 16,100
Old ditto .....	20,100

Bullets .....	lbs. 165,400
Lead, in bars.....	156,000
Powder.....	529,000
Infantry cartridges .....	1,214,000
Cavalry ditto .....	160,228
Artillery ditto of every size, for cannon .....	14,746
..... for howitzers .....	2,093
Cannon balls of different sizes .....	187,319
Bomb-shells of different sizes.....	14,502
Prepared combustibles of every kind.....	2,093
Grape-shot of all sizes.....	3,828

FIELD EQUIPAGE OF THE DIVISION OF GENERAL  
WURMSER.

Cannons, three pounders.....	26
..... six ditto .....	6
..... twelve ditto.....	2
Howitzers of seven inches .....	4

Total.....38

Cartridges for three pounders .....	5,736
..... six ditto .....	1,836
..... twelve ditto.....	540
Grape-shot for three .....	1,200
..... six ditto .....	340
..... twelve ditto .....	164
Carriages and waggons.....	184
Equipage of twenty-five pontoons .....	1

In this List, the arms laid down by the Austrian garrison are not comprised.

On the 28th, whilst a corps of military musicians performed the favourite airs of the French, a discharge of artillery announced the arrival of the 60 standards taken at Mantua, and of General Augereau, charged with presenting them to the Directory. He entered, amidst universal acclamations and reite-

rated cries of *Vive la Republique!* and was preceded by 60 veteran warriors, each, with republican pride, bearing an Austrian standard. On his arrival at the Estrade, the General was presented to the Directory by the Minister of War, who observed, in his address, that,

“ At the moment, when so many kings combined against France, and when the inexperience of her troops, and the puissance of her foes, were exaggerated, it was far from being foreseen, that the Genius of the Republic, sweeping the Imperial eagle before her, would spread her wings from Holland to the banks of the Tiber: *but it belonged to a people, who had recovered their own liberty, to revive it in those places, which were formerly its cradle.* Our first campaigns were rendered remarkable by that sudden explosion, which, precipitating on the frontiers a million of soldiers, opposed enthusiasm and courage to experience. The present campaign exhibited a spectacle of a different aspect; the genius of a Hero struggling against the knowledge of old and experienced warriors; French valour, bounding over mountains, rivers, and every difficulty which nature and art could oppose, and in the midst of so many battles, and the intoxication of so many victories, still retaining its character of *mildness and generosity.* Our warriors, in their triumphal march, shew themselves *the deliverers of the people,* and not the destroyers of the governments; the protectors of religion, and the friends of the arts, whose native country they have conquered. “ To me,” concluded the Minister, “ it gives exquisite satisfaction to present to the Directory, at the same moment, the monuments of the conquest of Italy, and the brave Augereau, who, in a moment of peril, imitating the example of Buonaparté, grasped a standard, and, darting forward in front of our battalions, decided the victory.”

The public were impatient to hear the General: on beholding him, the spectator traced, in imagina-



tion, all the battles in which this soldier had obtained renown. By his side stood his father, a veteran, whose martial appearance seemed still, notwithstanding his hoary locks, to breathe the ardour of battle; and his brother, who, in quality of aid-de-camp, had been the companion of his toils. Near him, they also remarked, with a lively interest, a brother of General Buonaparté (Jerome) 12 years of age: every one was earnest to recognise in the figure of this youth, traits of the Conqueror of Italy. A profound silence prevailed, when General Augereau addressed the Directory in the following terms:

“CITIZENS!

“The army of Italy, in whose name I deposit these hostile ensigns, by the side of those which have been presented to you since the commencement of its glorious campaign, has charged me with being the organ of its sentiments, and the pledge of its inviolable attachment to the present constitution; and also to express to you the desire it feels, to procure to the Republic a permanent and glorious peace. Faithful to its oath, and strong in its courage and the esteem of the friends of the Republican Government, the army will justify, in the ensuing campaign, the reputation it has acquired, within the space of eleven months, in sixty-four engagements, and twenty-seven pitched battles: it was not enough for its glory to destroy five numerous armies of the enemy; the obstinate ambition of the house of Austria, prodigal of human blood, founded its hope of preserving the sceptre of Italy in the garrison that defended Mantua. The number of the combatants, the reputation of the General shut up in that fortress, and its ample supply of provisions, all concurred in fostering this chimerical desire, and affording ridiculous pretensions to the agent of the cabinet of Vienna, dispatched to Vicenza for the purpose of concerting preliminaries of peace: it was, therefore, reserved for the

glory of this army, and as the reward of its fatigues and its courage, to take possession of Mantua, in the name of the Republic, and by that acquisition to secure the conquest of Italy. What efforts can the enemy hereafter oppose to Republican soldiers, who have so often triumphed over their numerous phalanxes, and over obstacles which nature has created in the infinity of ages ;—soldiers, who are familiarised with hunger, thirst, and forced marches, and to whom privations cost but little ? So many virtues, Citizens, would not sufficiently contribute to the glory of our brethren in arms, if they did not derive their principles from the sacred love of liberty, and had not in view the honour and happiness of their country. Yet, such is the effect of human passions, so many virtues could not fail to provoke calumny ; but let these malignant libellers enter into our ranks, and learn, from the mouths, even of strangers, the eulogies bestowed on the French troops, and we will be sufficiently avenged. What ! do these enemies of their country, these cowardly courtiers, dare to flatter themselves with giving us *a master* ? Think they, that the Republican soldiers have fought for six years to obtain *any other sovereign than the law* ? No, citizens ! all factions ought to fall before your wisdom and the energy of the armies ;—it is only for the maintenance of the constitution they have accepted, and for the prosperity of the Republic that they are disposed to shed their blood. While you consecrate your moments to preserve the constitutional deposit, and crush the malevolent, the army of Italy will not cease to concur in seconding, by its usual discipline and energy, every plan tending to give the Republic that peace, which is the desirable object of all her friends. May your wisdom and courage unite the olive and the laurel, and compel the foes of the Republican government to cherish, like us—sentiments of peace.”

The President of the Directory expressed the satisfaction they felt, and the pleasure entertained by

all Frenchmen, on beholding, within that circle, the numerous and honourable trophies presented by one of the heroes of Arcola. "What pleasures ought this spectacle to afford to Paris, the cradle of the Revolution! — Paris, that can boast of having given birth to one of those warriors, who have most dignified the Republican arms in the Pyrenees and the Alps! Let them vaunt of the eminent exploits of the greatest captains, who have served kings: these, will never equal the wonders effected by the ardent love of liberty, and the genius of that sacred equality, which, surmounting every obstacle, places man in the situation that nature and virtue intended. "Brave General!" continued the President, "inform your brethren in arms, that their exploits, now crowned by the capture of Mantua, have excited an universal enthusiasm, which has reduced to silence even the implacable enemies of their country: carry to them the tribute of our gratitude in the name of the triumphant Republic, that delights to reckon them among her firmest supports."

General Buonaparte, who knew how to pay a compliment in due season, would not let this opportunity escape of making his court to the army, and preserving the attachment of the soldiers; he, therefore, took the earliest opportunity of addressing them in the following

### PROCLAMATION:

BUONAPARTE, *General in Chief of the Army of Italy,*  
*to the Soldiers of the Army of Italy.*

Head Quarters, at Bassano, 20 Ventose, 5th Year.

"The capture of Mantua has almost given the finishing stroke to a campaign, which has entitled you to the eternal gratitude of your country.

“ You have proved victorious in 14 pitched battles, and in 70 engagements.—You have taken more than 100,000 prisoners: you have also obtained from the enemy 500 field pieces, and 2,000 large cannon.

“ The contributions levied on the countries you have conquered, have supported, maintained, and paid the army, during the whole campaign: you have, moreover, sent thirty millions to the Minister of Finance, for the increase of the public treasure.

“ You have enriched the museum of Paris with above 300 subjects, master-pieces of ancient and modern Italy, the production of which has been the labour of 30 ages. You have conquered for the Republic, the finest countries of Europe: the republic of Lombardy and Cispadana, are indebted to you for their liberty. The colours of France, for the first time, wave on the Adriatic shores, opposite and within 24 hours sail of the ancient city of Macedonia. The Kings of Sardinia and Naples, the Pope, and the Duke of Parma, are detached from the coalition of our enemies, and are leagued in friendship with us.—You have chased the English from Leghorn, Genoa, and Corsica; but you have not yet finished your career. A more splendid achievement is in reserve for you: in you the country places its dearest hopes; continue to deserve its confidence.

“ Among all the enemies, who coalesced to stifle the Republic in its birth, the Emperor alone is opposed to us: this Prince, degrading himself from the rank of a great Potentate, is in the pay of the merchants of London: he is actuated by no other policy, has no other will, than that of the perfidious Islanders, who, themselves, strangers to the horrors of war, smile with pleasure at the miseries of the Continent.

“ The Executive Directory has spared no endeavours to give peace to Europe: the moderation of its proposals was not dictated by the strength of its armies; it did not consult your courage, but followed the impulse of humanity, and a desire to behold you in the bosoms of your families: its voice has not been heard at Vienna, and there is no other

hope for peace, but by seeking it in the heart of the hereditary states of the house of Austria : you will there find a brave race, oppressed by the wars against the Turks, and by the present war. The inhabitants of Vienna, and the States of Austria, groan under a superstitious and arbitrary government. There is no one who doubts that the ministers of the Emperor, have been corrupted by the gold of the English : you will respect their religions, their customs, their property,—remember it is **LIBERTY** you are carrying to the brave Hungarians.

“ The House of Austria, which for three ages has been diminishing its power by wars, has excited the discontents of the people, by depriving them of their privileges ; it will find itself reduced, at the end of the sixth campaign (since it forces us to commence it) to accept such a peace as we shall be pleased to grant ; and will descend, in reality, to the rank of a secondary power, in which it has already placed itself, by submitting to be in the pay and at the disposal of England.

(Signed)

BUONAPARTE.”



## CHAPTER XVIII.

*Buonaparté meditates the Invasion of the Papal Territories.—His Letters to Cardinal Matthei, and the Cardinal's Answer.—General Victor proceeds towards Rome.—The Pope sends Four Plenipotentiaries to sue for Peace.—The Pope's Letter to Buonaparté.—Buonaparté's Letter to the Pope.—Particulars of the Treaty.—Buonaparté offers to protect the Liberty of the Republic of St. Marino.—Speech of Monge.—Intentions of Buonaparté in making the offer.—Answer of the Representatives of St. Marino to Monge's Speech.—Buonaparté makes presents of Cannon and Corn to St. Marino.—Reflections thereon.—Buonaparté gains the Applause of the learned by his respect for the Birth-place of Virgil.*

AN ardent mind, subject to so little control as that of Buonaparté, could not want opportunities of indulging its ambition. The Papal States could now be invaded without any apprehensions being entertained from a too extensive dispersion of the Republican troops; and an intercepted, letter, or a letter said to have been intercepted in its way from the Pope's Secretary to the Nuncio at Vienna, afforded a pretence for breaking the armistice that had been concluded.

Buonaparté had previously addressed the following Letter:

## TO CARDINAL MATTHEI.

“The court of Rome has refused to accept the conditions of peace which the Directory offers; she has broken the truce—she arms—she wishes for war, and she shall

have it ; and you know, Cardinal, the strength and valour of the army which I command. To destroy the temporal power of the Pope, I need but to wish it. Go to Rome, therefore, and enlighten his Holiness as to his true interest—deliver him from the intriguers, who besiege him. The French Government permits me to receive propositions of peace, and all may yet be settled. I wish you, M. Cardinal, in your mission, all the success which the purity of your intentions deserve.

22d Oct. 1796.

BUONAPARTE."

To this letter, Cardinal Matthei returned an indiscreet answer, of which the ensuing is an abstract :

#### TO M. GENERAL BUONAPARTE.

"I have laid before his Holiness the letter which you took the trouble to write to me, M. General.—The Sovereign Pontiff hath always endeavoured to maintain peace, for this purpose he has submitted to many sacrifices. When France, thrown into confusion by the unfortunate events which have afflicted her for these seven years past, wrung his heart with grief, he remembered that he was the common father of all Christian nations ; and when he saw his children of the church led astray by the most dangerous seductions, he thought that gentleness was the only remedy which he could employ, hoping that it would please God to cure them of their blindness, and bring them back to just and reasonable maxims. The success of your army in Italy has so far misled your government, that, by the most intolerable abuse of prosperity, not content with having *shorn* the lamb to the quick, they wished to *eat* it also, and even required of the Pope to make a sacrifice of his conscience, and that of the people committed to his care, in exacting the overthrow and total destruction of those fundamental points which are the basis of the Christian religion, of morality, and church discipline. His Holiness, after having, in vain, solicited the Directory to listen

to more reasonable conditions, the court of Rome must prepare for war : it belongs to the rest of Europe to decide who has been the aggressor. Your army is formidable, but you know that it is not invincible : we will oppose to it all our resources, our constancy, our confidence in a good cause, and, above all, the aid of the Almighty. You say you desire peace ; we wish it more than you : grant it upon moderate conditions, and such as our Allies can subscribe to, and you will find us ready to yield. On his part, his Holiness will make any sacrifice to obtain it, which may not be inconsistent with his duty : we venture to believe, M. General, that, for yourself, you incline to the principles of justice and humanity, and I shall at all times be happy to co-operate with you in the great affair of pacification.

*Rome, Dec. 2, 1796.*

MATTHEI."

On the 5th of January, 1797, Buonaparté recalled the French minister from Rome, and wrote the following letter

#### TO CARDINAL MATTHEI.

"The influence of foreigners at Rome will be its ruin : the words of peace which I charged you to carry to his Holiness, were stifled by men to whom the glory of Rome is nothing. You are witness how much I desired to avoid the horrors of war ; but the letter which I send you, and of which I have the originals, will convince you of the perfidy, blindness, and obstinacy, of the court of Rome. Whatever may happen, I entreat you to assure his Holiness, that he may remain at Rome without any inquietude : as the first minister of religion, he shall find protection for himself and the church. My great care shall be to introduce no change in the religion which is established.

BUONAPARTE."

General Victor was now ordered to march to Rome, an expedition which he commenced, by immediately



taking Imola; and then Faenza, Forli, Cezena, Ravenna, &c. with as little difficulty. The Papal troops broke down the bridges, and attempted to fortify themselves upon the Lenis; but, instead of relying upon their own courage, their hopes were grounded upon the blessings of St. Peter and St. Paul. Victor was not disposed to be charmed into submission; and, therefore, he drove the infatuated wretches forward, "like chaff before the wind." A general panic spread itself throughout the Ecclesiastical State; persons of all ranks endeavoured to escape, with their property, into Naples, and the Pope dispatched four Plenipotentiaries with a letter to Buonaparté, praying for peace.

This letter, with its answer, will serve to shew, that, if our Hero knew how to flatter, when it would serve his turn, he himself was not altogether insensible to the shafts of flattery: ~

### POPE PIUS VI.

"DEAR SON, Health and Apostolic Benediction !

"Desiring to terminate amicably our differences with the French Republic, by the retreat of the troops, which you command, we send and depute to you, as our Plenipotentiaries, two ecclesiastics, the Cardinal Matthei, who is perfectly known to you, and M. Galeppi; and two seculars, the Duke Louis Braschi, our nephew; and the Marquis Camillo Massinio, who are invested with our full powers to concert, promise, and subscribe, such conditions, as we hope will be just and reasonable, obliging ourselves, under our faith and word, to approve and ratify them in a special form, in order that they may be valid and inviolable in all future time. Assured of the sentiments of good-will which you have manifested, we have abstained from removing any thing from Rome, by which you will be per-

suaded of the entire confidence which we repose in you. We conclude, by assuring you of our most perfect esteem, and presenting you with the paternal Apostolic benediction.

PIUS, P. P. VI."

Given at St. Peter, in Rome, the 12th February, 1797, the 22d year of our Pontificate.

BUONAPARTE, *General in Chief of the Army of Italy,*  
*to his Holiness the Pope.*

Head Quarters at Tolentino, 1 Ventose, 5th Year.

"MOST HOLY FATHER!

"I ought to thank your Holiness for the obliging things contained in the letter, which you have taken the trouble to write to me.

"The peace between the French Republic and your Holiness is just signed: I felicitate myself on being able to contribute to your personal safety.

"I entreat your Holiness to guard against the persons now at Rome, who are sold to the courts, the enemies of peace, or who suffer themselves to be guided, exclusively, by the passion of hatred, which the loss of territory engenders.

"Europe knows the pacific inclinations, and the virtue of your Holiness. The French Republic will be one of the truest friends of Rome.

"I send my aid-de-camp, chief of brigade, to express to your Holiness, the perfect esteem and veneration which I have for your person, and to entreat you to confide in the desire which I have to give you, on every occasion, the respect and veneration, with which I have the honour to be,

Your most obedient Servant,

BUONAPARTE."

This treaty of peace between the Republic and the Pope was ratified by the latter, and confirmed

by the French Government: it provided that there should be peace, amity, and good intelligence, between the Republic, and his Holiness, and that the latter revoked all adhesion, consent, or accession, by writing or secret promise, given by him to the coalition armed against the Republic, and to every treaty of alliance, offensive or defensive, entered into with any power or state whatever: it was stipulated, that ships of war, or corsairs of the powers armed against the Republic, should not enter, during the present war, into the ports or roads of the Ecclesiastical State. The Republic should continue to enjoy, as before the war, all the rights and prerogatives, which France had at Rome. The Pope renounced, purely and simply, all rights he could claim to the towns and territory of Avignon, the Comtat-Venaissin, and its dependencies, and transferred to the Republic, all his rights to the territories, known by the names of the Legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna; he engaged to pay and deliver, at Foligno, to the treasurers of the French army, before the 5th of March, the sum of 15,000,000 of livres Tournois, 10,000,000 of which to be paid in specie, and five in diamonds, and other precious articles, out of the sum of about 16,000,000, still remaining due on the 9th article of the armistice, signed at Bologna on the 21st of June last, and to furnish to the army 800 cavalry horses, with their harnessing, 800 draft horses, besides oxen, buffaloes, and other produce of the territory of the church. Independently of those sums, the Pope, by the 12th article of this treaty, engaged to pay to the Republic in money, diamonds, or other valuables, the sum of 15,000,000 livres Tournois, 10,000,000 of

which in the course of the month of March, and 5,000,000 in that of April following. The 8th article of the treaty of armistice, concerning the manuscripts and objects of the arts, was to receive complete execution with all possible promptitude: it was agreed, that the French army should evacuate Umbria, Perugia, Camerino, and the whole of the territory which this treaty had left to the Pope, as soon as the articles relating to the payments should be executed and accomplished. His Holiness consented to disavow, by his minister at Paris, the assassination of Bassville, Secretary of Legation, and to pay, at the disposal of the French government, the sum of 300,000 livres, to be divided among those who suffered by that deed: he also engaged to set at liberty all those in a state of detention on account of their political opinions. The General in Chief was to permit such of his Holiness troops as were prisoners of war, to return home, immediately on the ratification of the treaty; and it was agreed, that, those sundry other articles of minor consideration, were, without exception, to be obligatory for ever on his Holiness and his successors.

Buonaparté seems to have been already so much of a sovereign, as to have understood the supreme *art of meddling*, or as some persons would say, *of legislating*, or, as might, perhaps, more properly be said *of interfering*, where his interference was not asked. The little republic of Santa Marino had afforded the General no pretence to quarrel with it; yet it did not escape his notice, but he chose to attack it, by a shower of favours, instead of the power of his arms. Under colour of removing any uneasiness that this free state might suffer from the

contiguity of the French army, he sent a deputy to its government, with an offer of his protection. Citizen Monge was introduced to the Two Captain Regents of that Republic, and informed them of the object of his mission, in a speech of the following purport :

“ Liberty,” said he, “ which, in the fair days of Athens, and of Thebes, transformed the Greeks into a people of heroes,—which in the time of the republic, made the Romans perform wonders,—which, during the short interval it diffused its influence over some of the cities of Italy, revived the sciences and the arts, and gave a lustre to Florence; liberty, while nearly banished from Europe, existed in St. Marino; where, by the wisdom of the government, and especially by their virtues, the people have preserved this precious deposit, notwithstanding so many revolutions, and defended its asylum during so long a series of years. After a century of knowledge, the French people, blushing at their own slavery, have made an effort, and are free. All Europe, blinded as to their proper interests, coalesced and armed against the French Republic; and, what afflicted her most, a portion of herself kindled civil war, and compelled her to have recourse to measures, of which she must feel the unfortunate consequences. Alone, in the midst of this tempest, without experience, arms, or chiefs, she hastened to the frontiers, and, making head in every direction, was soon everywhere triumphant. Of her numerous enemies the wisest withdrew from the coalition; others, yielding to her victorious arms, obtained successively the peace they implored. In fine, three only now remained, but they were impassioned, and listened to no coun-

sel, except that of pride, jealousy, and hatred. One of the French armies, on entering Italy, had destroyed, in succession, four Austrian armies, bringing in its train liberty to these delightful countries, and, almost under the eyes of the men he addressed, covering itself with immortal glory. The French Republic, *afflicted on account of the blood she sheds*, offers peace, when she might dictate laws!—Here the orator paused, as if he thought this pompous display of irresistible power, would not have sufficient weight without a pointed interrogatory. “Would you believe it, Citizens,” continued he, “everywhere her propositions have been rejected with haughtiness, or eluded with cunning! the army of Italy, thus constrained to conquer peace, is obliged, in pursuit of one of its enemies, to pass in the vicinity of your territory. I come, on the part of General Buonaparté, and in the name of the French Republic, to assure the ancient republic of St. Marino, of peace and inviolable friendship. Citizens Regents! the political constitution of the surrounding nations, may experience changes: *if any portion of your frontiers was disputed*, or *if any part of the neighbouring states, although not contested*, be absolutely necessary to you, I am charged by the General in Chief, to request you to make it known to him. The French Republic *is eager* to give you proofs of the *sincerity of her friendship*, and I felicitate myself on being the organ of a mission, the object of which must be acceptable to the two Republics, and which procures to me the opportunity of testifying to you the veneration you inspire in all the friends of liberty.”

Thus free Republic had maintained its liberty ever

since its first foundation in the 5th century. The numbers of its inhabitants did not exceed 5,000, but the smallness of its revenue was compensated by the simplicity of its government, and its power had been sufficient to preserve its existence, without the aid of allies. By virtue and independence, this "feeble folk," had overcome all the intrigues and all the authority, which Cardinal Alberoni had excited against them; and there was, at the present time, no power that had either the means or the inclination to interrupt their tranquillity; the solicitude of the *great General*, therefore, could only be traced to that all-corrupting principle, by which the bestowers of favours, and the givers of charity, are generally influenced, when, under the mask of kindness and benevolence, they treacherously rob the weak of that independence, which open violence would be wholly unable to obtain.

The adventurous candidate for a diadem and an empire knew perfectly well, that whoever can be prevailed upon to accept of grace, has no longer occasion for his own virtue, and that whosoever can be brought to rely upon another will soon be rendered incapable of serving himself: it was in this point of view, that it appeared to the Regents; but the very proposition had a corrupting tendency, for it was not possible, that such a diminutive state could speak its real sentiments, surrounded, as it was by large armies: it was obliged to temporise, and to endeavour, by flattering the great Man, to prevail upon him to keep his kindness to himself, and let them alone.

In answer to the Citizen Monge, the representatives of the republic of St. Marino stated, that they

still regarded as a dream the moment in which they had seen him arrive, cloathed with the character of deputy : it was the first time, that, distinguished from the croud of vile slaves, they had received an honour, which his great nation alone could bestow. They presented him the answer of the Council-General, to the invaluable letter he had brought, and observed, that if he himself had been present at its reception, he would have witnessed the satisfaction it produced. "Deign," said they, "to be the interpreter of our gratitude, and the sentiments of regard we entertain for the General in Chief, and the great nation he represents. Intercede, also, for the favours we have to ask of him, one of which is indispensable to our existence. The issue of this affair must be fortunate, if you support our request with your credit: may this be the commencement of relations we desire to maintain with you, and be persuaded that our esteem for you equals our gratitude."

The answer of the Republic assured Monge, that they would insert, in the number of the epochs, the most glorious in the calender of their liberty, the day of his mission to their Republic. *France knew not only how to vanquish her enemies by force of arms, but also to astonish her friends by her generosity.* Happy, in being able to reckon themselves among the models, which excited the noble emulation of Frenchmen, and more happy still in being found worthy of their friendship, of which he had given them so eminent a proof, they could not view, without the most live interest, the arms of the French Republic restoring in Italy the fair days of the Greek and Roman republics. Love of their own freedom made them



feel the value of the magnanimous efforts of a great nation, that wished to recover its liberty. The French Envoy knew, that simplicity of manners, and the innate sentiment of their liberty, were the sole inheritance transmitted them by their fathers: this inheritance they had preserved inviolate in the midst of the political shocks occasioned by the revolution of many ages, and neither ambition nor hatred had been able to destroy it. "Return, therefore," continued they, to the Hero who sent you: bear to him the free homage, not only of that admiration, which we participate, in common with the universe, but also of our gratitude. *Tell him, that the Republic of St. Marino, content with her mediocrity, is afraid to accept the generous offer he has made of aggrandizing her territory, the consequence of which might compromise her liberty.* As to yourself, illustrious Envoy! we esteem ourselves so much the more happy at this moment in having you amongst us, as you unite the talents of the scholar with the civic virtues. The object of your mission, the manner you fulfil it, and the name of him who has sent you, will prove a lasting monument of the magnanimity of the conquerors of Italy, and ever revive in our breasts those sentiments of gratitude we at present experience."

This incident in the General's history, is far from trifling, as it tends to develope his character at a time when it was little understood. Notwithstanding the wisdom and firmness with which these independent people had refused his offers, on his return from Tolentino, Buonaparté presented their State with four pieces of cannon, in the name of the French Republic, and directed a supply of corn, of which the inha-

bitants wished to make a purchase, to be delivered to them *gratuitously*.

Upon the first of these presents, it is very natural to remark, that the General had upwards of 1,000 cannon that he had no kind of occasion for, and that the State of Santa Marino had existed more than a thousand years without feeling the want of them: it was an empty gift of the same stamp, as the trafficking donations of some rich men, who bestow charity, not for the purpose of conferring benefits, but of gaining applause; it was worthless to him who gave it, and useless to those who received it. Not so the other part of the conqueror's generosity.—A supply of corn was a real and substantial good, which the people had an immediate occasion for, but their wish was *to buy* it, and they could better afford to have paid for it, than the people whom he had pillaged could afford to part with it without money. Why then would the General sacrifice his justice to his generosity, unless his views were like the old court of Egypt, which invited the sons of Jacob to enjoy the treasure of their granaries, and, when it had brought them into its debt, held them for bondmen and bondwomen, and refused to let them call any thing their own? Buonaparté would, however, be generous; yet the people of Marino ate his “*Dainties with reluctance, for they regarded them as decoitful meat.*”

The General gained much eclat, about this time, from the literary world, by the means that he took to compliment the egotism, and flatter the vanity of learned men: the village of Pietola, is the ancient spot of Andes, where Virgil was born, and the surrounding fields were formerly part of the li-

beralities of Augustus: they had probably suffered as much during the blockade and siege of Mantua as in the wars of the Triumvirate; but, happily for their inhabitants, the Conqueror of Italy was no less desirous of fame than Augustus: Virgil was in his recollection; and Buonaparté gave orders, that the ancient patrimony of the Mantuan Bard, the Prince of Latin poets, should be particularly distinguished, and that its inhabitants should be indemnified for all the losses they had sustained by the war.



## CHAPTER XVII.

*Advancement of Buonaparté's Family.—The Archduke appointed to command the Austrian Army of Italy.—Hoche commands the Army of the Sambre and Meuse. Various Operations of the Armies.—The French cross the Piava.—Engagement at Cadore.—Passage of the Tagliamento.—General Kellerman joins Buonaparté.—The French take Palma-nova, and vast Quantities of Provisions.—Gradisca taken.—Engagement at Casafola.—Gritz taken, with the Magazines of Stores and Provisions.—Engagement at Puzero.—Trieste taken.—Engagement at Tarvis.—Hardships to which the Armies were exposed.*

WHILST our Hero was thus taking advantage of circumstances to the advancement of his fortune, the other branches of his family seem to have been equally diligent. His brothers, Joseph and Lucien, availed themselves of the credit that his successes attached to their name, and, with very little either of talents or property, contrived to obtain seats in the Legislative Body. Louis, his third brother, received an appointment as a Lieutenant-Colonel in the army of Italy; and Jerome, though a mere schoolboy, we have already seen presented to the chief magistrates and people of France. It was, perhaps, not virtue, but policy, that induced the General to appropriate a part of his immense riches towards raising his mother and sisters also from the mediocrity of their former station; yet, as it would have been fordid and vicious to have acted otherwise, he

is, at least, entitled to the negative merit of not having neglected a duty in this instance: nor should it be forgotten, that he owes much of his success to the wise and judicious arrangements of Madame Buonaparté, who kept his mind wholly freed from domestic or family disappointments.

The war continued in Italy, with little intermission, during the winter. The total annihilation of Alvinzi's army rendering it necessary to form another, for the purpose of covering the hereditary states, the court of Vienna thought proper to give the command of this new army to the Archduke. His late good fortune on the Rhine, and the attachment of the Austrian soldiery to his Royal Highness, excited the most sanguine expectations of success:—but his laurels withered in presence of the formidable warrior he had to encounter. The inclemency of the weather, and the fatigue the troops had undergone, suspended farther operations on the Rhine; preparations were made for opening the campaign with decisive effect, and these were hastened, in order to second the invasion of Germany, which Buonaparté meditated from the northern frontier of Italy. The army of the Sambre and Meuse was reinforced, and entrusted to the command of General Hoche, while Moreau retained that of the army of the Rhine and Moselle. No sooner had Hoche assumed his command, than he displayed the characteristic firmness of his mind, by an act of justice and wholesome severity: he cashiered a great number of officers, and dismissed, or arrested, about 100 commissaries, for extortion, and dilapidations of various kinds. In Italy the greatest efforts were made to furnish the Archduke with a puissant army,

and hostilities had commenced before Buonaparté made peace with the Pope. The division of the Tyrol had engaged the Imperialists on the 5th of February, and driven them from a post between Savero and Besotto; and, on the 6th, General Murat had carried the post of Derunbano, on the right of the Adige.

Some few other skirmishes between the hostile armies were a prelude to more serious contests. General Guieux retook the post of Treviso, on the 22d of February, and General Walther, who commanded the advanced guard, having encountered the Imperialists in front of Lovadina, drove them back, and pursued them to their entrenchments on the Piava. On the 23d General Murat made himself master of the enemy's entrenchments at Foy, and afterwards fell in with a corps of Tyrolese chafseurs, 60 of whom he killed. General Beliard, commanding the right of General Joubert's division, was attacked at Bidola, but he completely defeated the Austrian corps. On the 2d of March, agreeable to the orders and instructions of the Commander in Chief to General Joubert, to attack the enemy the moment they should attempt to establish themselves on the left bank of the Lavis, General Beliard, attacked an Austrian detachment, posted at Monte-di-Savaro, while General Murat carried their advanced posts, and took about 100 prisoners.

Since the battle of Rivoli the army of Italy occupied the banks of the Piava and the Lavasio, while the Imperial army, under Prince Charles, occupied the opposite bank of the Piava, having its centre posted behind the Cordevole, and its right supported by the Adige, on the side of Salurn. On the morning of the

10th, the division of General Massena proceeded to Feltri; and the Austrians, on his approach, evacuated the line of Cordevole, and marched to Belluno. General Serrurier's division advanced to Asolo on the 12th, at day-break, it crossed the Piava, opposite the village of Vidor, and, having worsted an Austrian corps that attempted to oppose its passage, advanced rapidly to St. Salvador; but the enemy, having received intelligence of the passage of the river, and afraid of being surrounded, evacuated their camp of La Campana. General Guieux passed the Piava at Ospodaleto, and arrived in the evening at Conegliano. The French cavalry, in the course of the day, encountered several times that of the enemy, and had always the advantage. General Guieux, having arrived with his division at Sacile, on the 13th, fell on their rear guard, and took 100 prisoners. Meanwhile, General Massena's division, having reached Belluno, pursued the Imperialists, who had retreated towards Cadore, and, surrounding their rear guard, took 700 prisoners, among whom were 100 hussars, a colonel, and General Lusignan, who commanded the centre of the army, which General having disgraced himself by his conduct towards the French sick at Brescia, Buonaparté gave orders to conduct him to France, without the liberty of being exchanged.

Early on the morning of the 16th, Guieux's division set out from Pordenone, that of Bernadotte left Sacile, and that of Serrurier proceeded from Pafiano, all directing their march to Valvasone. General Guieux's division passed beyond Valvasone, and arrived on the banks of the Tagliamento at eleven

o'clock of the day. The Austrian army was entrenched on the opposite side of the river, the passage of which, it seemed determined to dispute. Bernadotte's division having arrived at noon, Buonaparté immediately gave orders to General Guieux to proceed to the left, in order to cross the river on the right of the enemy's entrenchments, under the protection of 12 pieces of artillery, General Bernadotte being directed to cross it at the same time on the right. Both divisions, having formed their battalions of grenadiers, ranged themselves in order of battle, each with a demi-brigade of light infantry in their front, supported by two battalions of grenadiers, and flanked by the cavalry, the light infantry manœuvring as riflemen. General Dammartin on the left, and General Lespinasse on the right, made their artillery advance, when a brisk cannonade commenced; upon which Buonaparté gave orders for every demi-brigade to file off in close column on the wings of their 2d, 1st, and 3d battalions. General Duphot, at the head of the 27th light infantry, threw himself into the river, and presently gained the opposite bank, being supported by General Bon, with the grenadiers of Guieux's division. General Murat made the same movement on the right, and was in like manner supported by the grenadiers of Bernadotte's division. The whole line put itself in motion, each demi-brigade *en echelons*, with squadrons of cavalry placed at intervals in the rear. The Imperial cavalry attempted several times to charge the French infantry, but without success: the river was crossed, and the enemy routed in every direction. As they attempted to outline the right of the French with their cavalry, and the left with their infantry,







*General. Holloman*

*Engraved by J. H. Smith*

General Dugua, and Adjutant-General Kellerman were detached, at the head of the cavalry of reserve, supported by a body of infantry, under Adjutant-general Mireur; and having worsted the Austrian cavalry, took prisoner the General who commanded them. General Guieux ordered the village of Gradisca to be attacked, and made himself master of it, after having completely defeated the enemy, and very nearly captured Prince Charles. General Serurier's division, as it arrived, passed the river, and ranged in order of battle, to serve as a corps of reserve. In this affair, the French took six pieces of cannon, one general, several superior officers, and four or five hundred prisoners. The quickness with which they formed and manœuvred, and the superiority of their artillery, so intimidated the hostile army, that it could not be brought to make a stand, and only strove to save itself by flight.

The foresight of the Directory had seconded every measure calculated to render certain the success of Buonaparté, and procure a glorious peace to the Republic. Entire divisions had been drawn from the armies on the Rhine, and sent to Italy: proceeding from the banks of this river, they traversed part of the Republic, and surmounted, in the most rigorous season, the barrier of the Alps, till then, deemed impervious, but of which General Kellerman, by dint of labour and vigilance, and struggling against climate, the elements, and the seasons, had succeeded in maintaining the free passage. This march, the longest and the most difficult ever effected on the continent by an armed corps, during the winter season, without experiencing any delay, and without being suspected, or, perhaps, believed

by the enemy, enabled them to contend in Carinthia, with the men they had so often defeated on the other side of the Rhine. These reinforcements having formed a junction with the army of Italy, Buonaparté, who was supposed to be still before Rome, crossed the Trajamento, and shewed his troops, from the summit of the Noric Alps, (a barrier which no modern nation had hitherto passed,) the basons of the Adriatic, and of the Danube, in the midst of which last, Vienna seemed to point out to them the termination, or the object of their exploits. Scarcely had the campaign commenced, and scarcely, in climates more favourable, would they have thought of opening it, when Buonaparté already menaced the heart of the states of Austria: nature was still dormant in these black regions, now become the theatre of war, when the mountains of the Tyrol, and of Carinthia, were scaled. Prince Charles was compelled to a continued and precipitate retreat, very different from that which had immortalized General Moreau, who led back his army, pursued indeed, but always victorious, from the banks of the Danube to the borders of the Rhine.

On the 18th, the division of General Bernadotte defiled by Palma-nova, and took a position on the Torre: the division of General Serrurier also took post on the right, and that of General Guieux on the left, the Citizen Lafalle being dispatched with the 24th regiment of chasseurs to Udina. The Imperialists, on the approach of the French, evacuated Palma-nova, where the latter captured, 30,000 rations of bread, and a million of quintals of flour: it was only ten days since Prince Charles had seized

on this place, which belonged to the Venetians: his intention was to occupy it as a military post, but he had not time to establish himself there. General Massena, proceeding by St. Daniele, Asolo, and Gemona, pushed his advanced guard into the defiles. On the 19th, General Bernadotte blockaded Gradisca, while General Serrurier advanced opposite San-Pietro, for the purpose of passing the Lisonzo, on the other side of which the Imperialists had several pieces of cannon, and some battalions, for defending the passage. Buonaparté ordered various manœuvres to be made, with an intent to alarm the enemy, after which the passage was effected without opposition.

General Serrurier proceeded to Gradisca, filing along the highest peaks that command the town. To make a diversion, and prevent the Imperialists from discovering this manœuvre, General Bernadotte made the riflemen attack their entrenchments; but the French soldiers, impelled by their natural ardour, advanced with fixed bayonets to the walls of Gradisca, where they were received by a very heavy discharge of musquetry and grape-shot. General Serrurier in the mean time having gained the heights commanding Gradisca, rendered every means of retreat impossible to the garrison, who were equally convinced of the impracticability of defence. General Bernadotte summoned the Austrian commandant to surrender in ten minutes, threatening, in case of refusal, to put the garrison to the sword. He observed in his letter, that the Governor had defended the town like a brave man, and acquired the esteem of all military men by his conduct; but any further obstinacy would be criminal, and

dangerous, and the principles of philanthropy, which ought to animate a soldier, imposed on him the obligation of sparing the unnecessary effusion of blood; and concluded, with informing him, that the scaling ladders were prepared, and the grenadiers and chasseurs demanding loudly the assault. The Governor agreed to a capitulation, by which it was stipulated, that, in a quarter of an hour after signing it, the garrison should march out by the gate Mucama with all the honours of war, the officers retaining their swords, and liberty granted them of returning home, on condition of not serving until exchanged. Three thousand prisoners, the flower of the army of Prince Charles, ten pieces of cannon, and eight standards, were the fruits of this operation.

The division of General Massena, having carried the fort of La Chuifa, encountered a body of the Imperialists, who attempted to dispute the passage of the bridge of Casafola. His light troops drove back those of the enemy, and, a moment afterwards, the grenadiers of the 32d and 75th demi-brigades, in close column, forced the bridge, and, having beaten the Imperialists, notwithstanding their entrenchments and chevaux-de-frise, pursued them as far as Ponteba, taking prisoners 600 men of the regiments lately brought from the Rhine. All the magazines, which the Austrians had on this side of the river, fell into the hands of the French.

The capture of Gradisca procured advantages, of which the French General hastened to profit, and he addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of the province of Goritz, with an intent to prepare their

minds for the expedition he meditated across their territory.

On the 21st of March the French entered Goritz, the Austrian army having retreated with so much precipitation, that they abandoned four hospitals, containing 1,500 sick, and all their magazines of provisions and military stores, which were accordingly taken possession of by the French. In these magazines were 680 casks of flour, each weighing three quintals, making in all 2,040 quintals, besides what was furnished to the division of Bernadotte. On the same day, this division reached Camiza; its advanced guard, and the Austrian rear guard encountered at Caminia, on which occasion the 19th regiment of chasseurs, charged the enemy with impetuosity, and took prisoners 50 hussars, with their horses. General Massena, on his side, pursued the enemy to Ponteba.

General Guieux, with his division, proceeded, on the 22d, from Cividale to Caporetto, where he fell in with the Imperialists, entrenched at Pufero, took two pieces of cannon, and 100 prisoners, pursuing the rest into the defiles of Caporetto, as far as the Austrian La Chinse, leaving the field of battle covered with their dead. Meantime, General Massena approached Tarvis with his division; Buonaparté had, therefore, reason to hope, that the 2,000 men, whom General Guieux had pushed before him, would fall into the hands of the division of Massena. The General of division, Dugua, entered Trieste on the night of the 23d. The French likewise took possession of the celebrated mines of Ydria; where they found substance prepared for 2,000,000, and carried it off in waggons.

We have already mentioned, that a column of the army of Prince Charles, was hemmed in between the division of General Massena, who was at Tarvis, and that of General Guieux, who, on arriving at Caporetto, pushed this column before him into the defiles. General Massena, on his arrival at Tarvis, was attacked by an Austrian division from Clagenfurth, which had come to the assistance of the division that was surrounded; but, after a conflict extremely obstinate, he put them to the rout, taking a vast number of prisoners, among whom were three generals: the Emperor's cuirassiers, who had arrived from the Rhine, suffered most severely. Meanwhile, General Guieux drove the column, which he had defeated at Pufero, as far as Austrian La Chinse, a post extremely well entrenched, but which was carried by assault, after a very obstinate engagement. General Kables, in person, defended La Chinse, with 500 grenadiers. By the laws of war, these 500 men ought to have been put to the sword, but this barbarous right has always been disclaimed, and never exercised, by the French army. The hostile column, on finding La Chinse taken, hastened its march, and fell into the middle of the division of General Massena, who, after a slight engagement, made the whole of them prisoners: 30 pieces of cannon, 400 waggons, carrying the baggage of the enemy, 5,000 men, and four generals, fell into the hands of the French.

The division of Massena had crossed the Italian Alps, and now occupied the defiles of the Noric Alps. The Imperialists had been so impru-



dent as to entangle in the Noric Alps all their baggage, and part of their army, which were of course taken. The battle at Tarvis was fought above the clouds, on a height which commands an extensive view of Germany and Dalmatia: in several places to which the French line extended, the snow lay three feet deep; and the cavalry, charging on the ice, suffered many accidents.



## CHAPTER XIX.

*The Directory write Letters of Thanks to all the Generals of the Army of Italy.—Standards sent to Paris.—Engagement at Lavis, Tramin, and Clauson.—Anecdote of General Dumas.—Buonaparté issues a Proclamation on entering Carinthia.—The French enter Germany by Way of Venice.—Engagements at Clagenfurth, Inspruck, Neumark, Hundsmark.—Immense Quantities of Stores taken.—Buonaparté's Letter to the Archduke.—The Archduke's Reply.—Conservation at Vienna.—The Progress of the French.—Armistice with Austria.—Previous Operations of General Hoche on the Rhine.*

SUCH a continuity of brilliant successes entitled the army to every distinguishing mark of approbation, that the Government could possibly bestow; accordingly the Directory wrote particular letters of thanks to each of the Generals, in which they pointed out the especial service which his division had rendered to its country; the army answered these eulogies by meriting new ones. General Buonaparté sent to Paris 24 standards, 12 of which were taken from the troops of the Emperor, in the late actions, and 12 from the forces of the Pope: and the Adjutant-General Kellerman, who had received an honourable wound in a charge of cavalry, at the passage of the Tagliamento, was appointed to carry them. General Serrurier, shortly afterwards followed him with 21 Austrian and Venetian standards.

The French column dispatched by Buonaparté, to compel the submission of the Tyrol, and after-

wards join him on the Drave, fulfilled their mission, and traversed, as conquerors, a country, which Austria had always regarded as one of the strongest bulwarks of her empire. The divisions of Generals Joubert, Baraguey d'Hilliers, and Delmas, put themselves in motion on the 20th, and surrounded an Austrian corps stationed on the Lavis. After a most obstinate engagement, the French took 4,000 prisoners, three pieces of cannon, and two standards, and killed nearly 2,000 men, the greater part of whom were Tyrolean chasséurs.

Meanwhile the enemy had fallen back along the right bank of the Adige, and manifested a disposition to maintain themselves in this situation. Upon the 22d General Joubert, with the three divisions under his command, proceeded to Salurn. General Vial made himself master of the bridge of Newmark, and passed the river to prevent the enemy from retreating to Botzen. The firing commenced with great warmth, and the general of division, Dumas, who commanded the cavalry, pushed into the village of Tramin, taking 600 prisoners, with two pieces of cannon. In consequence of this, the wrecks of the Austrian column, under General Laudon, were prevented from reaching Botzen, and obliged to wander in the mountains: Joubert entered the town of Botzen, and, having detached a sufficient force to follow General Laudon, marched directly to Claufen. The Imperialists, availing themselves of the means of defence which the country afforded, had made the best dispositions: the attack was warm and well concerted, and the issue long uncertain. The light infantry clambered up inaccessible rocks; the 11th and 33d demi-brigades of infantry of the line in close column,

commanded by General Joubert, in person, surmounted every obstacle; the centre of the Imperialists was penetrated, and obliged to give way, after which the rout became general: in this action, the French took 1,500 prisoners. General Joubert arrived at Brixen, still in pursuit of the Austrians; while General Dumas, at the head of the cavalry, killed several of their dragoons with his own hand, and received two slight cuts of a sabre, his aid-de-camp being at the same time dangerously wounded. This general, say the French, for several minutes, "*singly checked the progress of a squadron of the enemy's horse, upon a bridge they attempted to pass, and gave time to his troops to rejoin him!*" At Brixen, Botzen, and different other places, the French found magazines of every kind, and, among other articles, 30,000 quintals of flour: through the whole of the Tyrol, Carinthia, and Carniola, the Imperialists left behind them their hospitals.

On penetrating into Carinthia, Buonaparté published a proclamation to the inhabitants of the province, purporting that the French army did not enter their country for the purpose of conquering it, or to effect any change in their religion, manners, or customs: they were the friends of all nations, and particularly of the brave people of Germany. The Directory had sent General Clarke to Vienna, as plenipotentiary, to commence negotiations for peace; but the Imperial court had refused to hearken to them, and had declared, that it did not acknowledge the French Republic. General Clarke demanded a passport to go and speak to the Emperor himself; but his ministers dreaded that the moderation of the propositions, which the General

was charged to make, would influence his Majesty to conclude a peace. "Thus these ministers," continued the General, "corrupted by English gold, betrayed Germany, and their Prince, and acknowledged no other will, than that of the perfidious islanders." He knew, he said, "that the inhabitants of Carinthia, detested as much as the French nation, both the English, who were the only gainers by the war, and the Austrian minister, who was sold to them." He invited them not to join in a contest, repugnant to their sentiments, and to furnish what provisions the French army might require; declaring that, on his part, he would protect their religion, customs, and property, and not exact any contribution. The imposts, which the inhabitants had been accustomed to pay to the Emperor, would indemnify them for the inevitable losses attending the march of the French army, and for what provisions they might furnish.

On the 28th three divisions of the army had cleared the passages leading from the Venetian territory into Germany, and encamped at Villach, on the banks of the Drave. General Massena, on the 29th, put himself in motion with his division, and fell in with the Imperial army, at the distance of a league from Clagenfurth, when an engagement ensued, in which the Austrians lost two pieces of cannon, and 200 prisoners. The same evening the French entered Clagenfurth, the capital of Higher and Lower Carinthia, while Prince Charles, and the wrecks of his army, extremely disheartened, were flying before them. On the 1st of April the French advanced guard, were between St. Veit and

Freisach, and the division of General Bernadotte reached Laubach, the capital of Carniola. Buonaparté sent the Polish General, Zajouzeck, at the head of a body of cavalry, to follow the valley of the Drave, and, after gaining Lienz, effect his junction with General Joubert, at Brixen.

Since the commencement of this campaign, Prince Charles had lost nearly 20,000 men taken prisoners, and was now entirely driven from the Venetian territories; from the Higher and Lower Carniola, Carinthia, the district of Trieste, and the whole of the Tyrol. Near Villach, the French found a magazine of cast iron, cartridges, and powder, and mines of lead, steel, iron, and copper; and, near Clagenfurth, they found manufactories of arms and cloth.

General Joubert, on the 28th of March, attacked the defile of Inspruck: the battalions, newly arrived from the Rhine, attempted to defend it; but, after a short cannonade, Joubert decided the affair, by advancing at the head of the 85th demi-brigade, in close column by battalion; when the Imperialists were driven back, leaving 100 killed, 600 prisoners, two pieces of cannon, and all their baggage.

On the 1st of April the division of General Mafena, forming an advanced guard, encountered the Imperialists in the defiles between Freisach and Neumark: their rear guard was driven from all the positions it endeavoured to dispute, and pursued by the French with so much rapidity, that the Archduke was obliged to bring back from his principal line of battle, eight battalions of grenadiers, the same who had taken Kehl, and who now formed the hope of

the Austrian army. The 2d light infantry, who had particularly distinguished themselves since their arrival by their courage, without relaxing their movement a single instant, threw themselves on the flanks both of right and left, while General Massena, in order to penetrate the defile, formed in column the grenadiers of the 8th and 32d. The combat was between the flower of the Austrian army and the veteran troops of the army of Italy, and was one of the most furious that had happened during the war. The Imperialists occupied a grand position, crowded with cannon: but it only protracted for a short time the defeat of their rear guard: their grenadiers were completely routed, leaving the field of battle covered with their dead, and from five to six hundred prisoners. The Austrians defiled, during the night, and at day-break the French entered Neumark, their head quarters being advanced the same day to Freifach. At this place they found 4,000 quintals of flour, and a great quantity of brandy and oats; they found about the same quantity of stores at Neumark.

On the 3d the head quarters were removed to Scheifling, while the vanguard encountered the rear guard of the Imperialists in the vicinity of Hundsmark, where the latter wished to quarter for the night: the 2d light infantry still formed the advanced guard of the French; and, after an hour's fighting, the Austrian rear guard, composed of four regiments from the Rhine, was again put to the rout, leaving 600 prisoners, and 300 dead on the field of battle; this advanced guard, that evening, ate the bread, and drank the brandy prepared for the Austrian army; the loss of the French in these two en-

gements was very trifling; the only officer killed, was the chief of brigade, Carrere, a soldier of steady valour, and indefatigable activity. After this, the French occupied Kintenfeld, Murau, and Judenburg; the Imperialists appearing decided on a precipitate retreat, and resolving not to hazard any more partial actions. Buonaparté ordered the division of General Guieux to pursue that of the Austrian General Spork, who endeavoured to effect a junction by the valley of the Muhr, and whose advanced guard had already arrived at Murau; but the prompt arrival of the French at Scheifling, had rendered this junction impossible. From this time, the Austrians could make no stand, except in the mountains in the neighbourhood of Vienna.

There is certainly credit due to the French General on the score of moderation, that, being, as he was, on the point of arriving under the walls of Vienna, where a very probable success might have given him the power of overturning, for ever the throne of the house of Austria, he should have chosen this moment to offer peace. From his headquarters at Clagenfurth, Buonaparté wrote the following letter to Prince Charles:

11th Germinal, 5th Year, (March 31.)

“ M. GENERAL IN CHIEF,

“ Brave soldiers make war, but desire peace! Have not hostilities already lasted for six years? Have we not slaughtered men, and committed evils enough against suffering humanity? Europe, which had taken up arms against the French Republic, has now laid them down: your nation alone remains;—and still blood is about to flow more than ever. The sixth campaign is now announced, under the most portentous auspices. Whatever may be the result,



many thousands of gallant soldiers must still be sacrificed in the prosecution of the contest. At some period we must come to an understanding, since time brings all things to a conclusion, and even extinguishes the most inveterate resentments.

“The Executive Directory of the French Republic, expressed to his Imperial Majesty, its desire to terminate a contest which desolates the two countries. These pacific overtures were defeated by the intervention of the British cabinet. Is there then no hope of accommodation? Must we continue to murder each other, in order to promote the interests, or gratify the passions, of a nation, far removed from the theatre of war? Are not you, who are so nearly allied, by birth, to the throne, and who are raised above all the despicable passions, which too often influence ministers and governments:—are not you ambitious to merit the appellation of the “benefactor of the human race, and the saviour of Germany?” Do not imagine, my dear General, that I mean to insinuate, that you cannot possibly save your country by force of arms; but, even on the supposition, that the chances of war were to become favourable, Germany would not, on that account, suffer the less devastation. With respect to myself, gallant Commander! if the overture, which I have now the honour to make you, could be the means of sparing the life of a single individual, I should be prouder of the civic crown, to which my interference might entitle me, than of the melancholy glory likely to result from the most brilliant military exploits. I beg of you to believe me to be, General in Chief, with the most profound respect and esteem,

(Signed)

BUONAPARTE.”

The Archduke sent this Reply:

“M. GENERAL.

“Though I make war, and obey the call of honour and duty, yet I desire, as well as yourself, peace, for the good of the people and for humanity.

“As, nevertheless, it does not belong to me, in the poss

in which I am entrusted, to scrutinise or to terminate the quarrels of the belligerent nations; and as I am not invested, on the part of his Majesty the Emperor, with any powers for treating, you will perceive that I cannot enter into any negotiation, and that I must wait for superior orders, on an object of such high importance, not within the sphere of my present functions: but whatever may be the future chance of the war, or the hopes of peace, I entreat you to be persuaded, M. General, of my distinguished esteem and consideration.

CHARLES, Field Marshal."

Two hours after the receipt of this answer, and while the French troops were on their march to Freisach, the Archduke, by one of his aides-de-camp, requested a suspension of arms for four hours; a proposition entirely inadmissible; as, by gaining four hours, he would have effected a junction with General Spork, to prevent which, Buonaparté had hastened his march both night and day.

In Vienna the consternation was, at this time, extreme, and the most violent orders succeeded each other, with a rapidity tending to increase the alarm. Many hastened to withdraw themselves from the horrors of a siege by leaving the town; and although a numerous class appeared ready to rally round the monarch, and unite for the defence of the country, he could not be much encouraged by an attachment, which had cost so dearly to all those noble volunteers of Vienna, who had faced the army of Italy, only to meet with death, or surrender prisoners. In vain had Prince Charles appeared at the head of the Imperial armies: he had been, perhaps, still more unfortunate, than the generals his predecessors; and every effect expected from the in-

fluence of his talents, or the illusion of his dignity, had deceived their ultimate hopes.

During these transactions Buonaparté transferred his head quarters to Judenburg, and prepared for decisive measures, but on the 7th, Lieutenant-General the Count de Bellegarde, and Major-General Morveltdt wrote him a letter, in which they stated, that his Imperial Majesty had nothing more at heart than to concur in re-establishing the repose of Europe, and terminating a war that desolated the two nations. In consequence of the overture made by the French General to Prince Charles, the Emperor had now deputed them to learn the General's proposals on a subject of such great importance. Agreeably to their conferences with him, and persuaded of the earnest desire, as well as the intentions, of the two powers to terminate, as soon as possible, this disastrous war, his Royal Highness desired a suspension of arms for ten days, in order to facilitate the attainment of so desirable an object.

Buonaparté observed in his answer to this application, that, considering the military position of the two armies, a suspension of arms was, in every respect, disadvantageous to the French; but, if it tended to open a road to peace, so much desired, and so beneficial to the two nations, he would consent, without hesitation, to their request. The French Republic had frequently manifested to his Majesty her desire to put an end to this sanguinary contest: she still entertained the same sentiments; and he had no doubt, from the conference he had with them, that in a few days peace would be at length re-established between the Republic and his Majesty.

The condition of the armistice, entered into by the French General and the Archduke on the 7th, provided, that there should be a suspension of arms between the French and Imperial armies, calculating from the evening of the 7th to that of the 13th. By the 2d article, the French were to retain the following line :—The advanced posts of the right wing to keep possession of the position they then occupied between Fiume and Trieste; and this line to be extended by taking possession of Treffen, Littai, Windischleistriz, Marburg, Chienhaussen, the right bank of the Muhr, Gratz, Bruck, Leoben, Trafsagak, Mantern, the road from Mantern to Rottenmann, Rottenmann, Irdinng, the valley of Lems, as far as Raftadt, St. Michael, Spital, the valley of the Drave, and Lientz : it was also stipulated by the 3d and last article, that the suspension of arms should extend to the Tyrol; and that the generals commanding the French and Imperial troops in that quarter, should regulate, together, the posts they were severally to occupy. Hostilities were not to commence in the Tyrol, until 24 hours after the Generals in Chief should have resolved on it, and, in any case, not until 24 hours after the generals, commanding the French and Imperial troops in the Tyrol, should be reciprocally informed of the circumstance.

Early in the month of April, and previous to the conclusion of this armistice, the campaign on the Rhine had been commenced, General Hoche intimated to General Werneck, who commanded on the Lahn, that the verbal armistice between the advanced posts, was to cease, and hostilities to commence on the 16th; at the same time, a similar no-





*General Hoche !*

*Pub. l. 3. M. 1802. July. 1802.*

tice was given by General Moreau to the Austrian commander on the Upper Rhine. Accordingly a division of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, crossed the river at Bonn on the 17th, whilst the troops, cantoned between Dusseldorf and the Sieg, made preparations for advancing. On the morning of the 18th General Hoche, in person, passed the Rhine at Neuwied, with the right wing, a corps of the centre, and a division, commanded by General Watrin. Two days previous to this, the Imperial General had requested a continuation of the armistice, but the French commander was obliged to follow his instructions, and commence the campaign. General Kray, who commanded the left wing of the Austrian army, proceeding on the idea that a convention had been agreed on in Carinthia, now requested permission to send an officer, vested with powers, to conclude an armistice. As a preliminary condition, Hoche demanded the evacuation of the Lahn, and the cession of Ehrenbreitstein; but the Imperial General being of opinion that the relative situation of the two armies did not authorise the acceptance of these conditions, the conference was terminated.

The Austrian left, stationed in this point, occupied an excellent position in front of the bridge of Neuwied, having its right supported by the village of Hotterdorf, and its left resting on Bendorf. The number and arrangement of the redoubts, and strength of the entrenchments, presented a very formidable aspect, and did honour to the veteran abilities of General Kray. About eight in the morning, the Imperialists began the action with a lively

cannonade, but the French troops advancing to the attack, the infantry, seconded by the fire of the light artillery, carried the village and whole line of redoubts, with fixed bayonets. A few charges of cavalry now decided the battle, and the Imperialists, being thrown into total disorder, were obliged to retreat, abandoning all the cannon of their batteries, several field pieces and ammunition-waggons, besides the major part of their baggage, three or four standards, and 4,000 prisoners.

General Lefebvre, with the advanced guard and first division, pushed forward to Montabaur, while Grenier, with the centre, advanced to Dierdorf, and Championnet dislodged the Austrians from Ukareth and Altenkirchen. Meantime General Werneck, in consequence of Kray's defeat, was forced to retire with his whole army, and take a position on the Lahn. General Ney marched rapidly with a party of horse to Dierdorf, where he fell in with the reserve of the Imperial army, and engaged them for four hours, when, the main of Grenier's column advancing, the Imperialists were driven from their position, and obliged to retreat with precipitation, having lost 500 infantry taken prisoners, and 500 cavalry taken, wounded, or killed. On the 19th, Lefebvre crossed the Lahn at Limburg, with an intent to proceed to Francfort; and Generals Ney and Soult, with the advanced guard, having overtaken the Austrian rear guard in the defile of the Dille, in their retreat to Wetzlaer, drove them from this post, with the loss of 300 men.

The Austrian army fell back with such celerity that the French infantry were unable to keep pace with them. The cavalry of the advanced guard at-



tacked the post of Gießen, and, after a short contest, the Imperialists retired to that of Steinberg, which they also abandoned in the night-time. On the 22d General Waltrin's division carried the Austrian camp, near, Mentz, and drove them under the cannon of the fortress, taking upwards of 800 prisoners. General Lefebvre having crossed the Nidda with his division, compelled a select corps of Imperial cavalry, that occupied the opposite bank, to retire, and was on the point of entering Francfort, when he received information from the Austrian General, that the preliminaries of peace were signed by Prince Charles and Buonaparté: he, therefore, consented to suspend the action, until the return of an officer, whom he instantly dispatched to General Hoche, who, at the same moment, received a letter from General Berthier, intimating the terms of the convention. After strengthening their posts, the two commanders in chief agreed to a line of demarkation for the armies, behind which they waited for the ulterior orders of their respective governments.

The cabinet of Vienna had drawn a reinforcement of 20 or 30,000 men from the Rhine, and sent them to the Italian frontier. This necessarily weakened their Suabian line, and facilitated the operations of General Moreau, who again effected the passage of the river by a *coup de main*. In the night of the 19th a considerable body of troops crossed over to the right bank in boats, and after a most obstinate struggle, succeeded in re-establishing the bridges, by means of which the rest of the army passed the river, and immediately commenced offensive operations. Several warm engagements occurred in the course of the day, but, at last, the Imperialists were completely defeated,

and pursued to Offenbourg; and, in the evening, the Republican flag waved in triumph on the bastions of that Kehl, which a French garrison had, the year preceding, defended against the whole Austrian army. The Austrians lost several standards, upwards of 20 pieces of cannon, all their camp equipage, the military chest, the bureau of the staff of the army, and three or four thousand prisoners, including the general of their artillery, and a great number of superior officers. The French Generals Duhem, Desaix, Jordis, Dement, and Regnier, were wounded; and, from the steady resistance made by the Imperialists, the loss of the Republican army was very considerable.

Happily for the countries threatened with becoming the theatre of war, the suspension of arms, now concluded between Austria and France, saved them from a repetition of the calamities they had sustained in the preceding campaign, and promised to restore the repose of the continent. Buonaparté had dispatched a courier with the intelligence, who reached General Moreau's head quarters in the night of the 21st, and from thence hastened along the French line to Friedberg, the head quarters of General Hoche. Arrangements, similar to those on the Lahn, were concerted by the generals on the Upper Rhine, a line of demarkation was agreed on, and a friendly intercourse established between the two nations.

## CHAPTER XIX.

*Success of the British Navy.—Descent in Wales.—Engagement with a Spanish Fleet.—Admiral Nelson's Expedition to Teneriffe.—Achievement of Sir J. B. Warren.—Capture of Trinidad.—Attack of Porto-Rico.—Mutiny in the Navy.—Execution of the Sailors.—Temper of the People in France, Germany, Holland, England, and Ireland.*

IF the military efforts of France were crowned with the most unparalleled success upon the continent, nothing had ever equalled the misfortunes that befel her naval exertions upon the ocean, and, even in port, the ships of that nation were not always safe; for such was the incredible temerity of the English sailors, that they frequently attacked and cut out vessels from under the batteries. Upon only one occasion did the French gain even a partial triumph in a similar attempt: that part of the coast of Devonshire, which is situated at the mouth of the British channel, was, on the 22d of February, thrown into consternation by the appearance of three frigates, which entered the small harbour of Ilfracombe, scuttled some merchant ships, and attempted to destroy some other vessels in the harbour. From this place they soon departed, standing across the channel towards the side of Pembroke: they were discovered from the heights above St. Bride's Bay, and were found to consist of two frigates, and two smaller vessels, steering from the British channel to turn St. David's head; from which they steered towards Fishguard, and came to

an anchor in a small bay, not far from Lanonda Church, at which place they hoisted French colours, and put out their boats.

Near Fishguard they effected a debarkation, on the morning of the 23d, when numbers of them traversed the country in search of provisions, plundering such houses as they found abandoned, but offered little molestation to the inhabitants, who remained in their dwellings. Whatever alarm their first appearance might create, was very soon dissipated, as their numbers did not exceed 1,400 men, wholly destitute of artillery, although possessed of 70 cart-loads of powder and ball, together with a number of hand-grenades. Although they committed no acts of wanton cruelty or murder, two of the natives were killed by them; but they brought their death upon themselves by their own temerity, and one of them certainly merited his fate. When the Frenchman surrendered and delivered up his musket, the savage aimed a blow at him with the butt end of it, when self-preservation induced the Frenchman to run him through the body with his bayonet, which he had not delivered up: in short, this handful of invaders, surrendered as prisoners of war to Lord Cawdor, at the head of about 660 men, consisting of volunteers, fencibles, and yeomen cavalry, reinforced by a multitude of colliers, who augmented his numbers, without increasing his strength.

As soon as the frigates had completed the debarkation, they set sail for the coast of France, but were captured, on the 9th of the ensuing month, while standing in for the harbour of Brest, by the *St. Fiorenzo* and *Nymphé* frigates: they proved to be *La Resistance* of 48 guns, and *La Constance* of 24.

The men landed, were supposed, by some, to be insurgents from La Vendee, who had entered into the service of the Republic, but whose principles rendered it dangerous to put any confidence in them. Others imagined them to be galley-slaves, and criminals of various descriptions, collected from the prisons of Brest, and landed in this country by way of insult, as if the French government intended to billet them on the enemy. This last opinion received some countenance from the debates in the French councils, who severely censured M. Truguet, the minister of marine, and charged him with planning this measure ; yet it is not entitled to full credibility, when we attend to the allegation of the officer commanding the expedition, who declared that he had with him 600 of the best troops in France, veteran and experienced foldiers. The expedition was, most likely, undertaken by the Republic with a view to ascertain whether a descent upon the English coast could easily be accomplished, and whether, if practicable, it would be attended with a general panic ; for it is certain, that when the Directory were told that the news had reached London without making the smallest impression upon the stocks, it abandoned the idea of invading England, except when the threat was necessary to embellish a proclamation.

While the principal fleets of France were confined within their own ports, their Spanish Allies were dreadful sufferers. On the 14th of February, a memorable action took place off Cape St. Vincent, between a squadron of British ships of war, under the command of admiral Sir John Jervis, and a Spanish fleet, commanded by Don Joseph de Cordova. The disproportion between the fleets was remarkably

great, that under Sir John consisting of no more than 15 sail of the line, four frigates, a sloop of war, and a cutter; whilst the Spanish fleet consisted of 27 sail of the line, and 12 frigates; the enemy's force amounting to more than twice the metal of the British Admiral. The Spanish fleet was perceived by the *Minerva* frigate, on the night of the 11th, carrying the pendant of Commodore Nelson, then on his way to join Admiral Jervis, and on the 13th, their proximity to the British fleet was such, that their signal guns were distinctly heard.

That night the fleet under Sir John Jervis, received signals to be in a state of readiness for battle, and the next morning, at the dawn of day, they were in perfect order. A little past six the *Culloden* gave notice of five sail of the enemy lying to the south-west; the fleet was, therefore, directed to form in close order, and a short time after, a signal was given to prepare for an engagement. About 10 o'clock, the *Minerva* announced to the fleet, that 20 sail were seen by her in the same south-west direction, which were distinctly perceived by the whole British fleet in about half an hour after: the ships first discovered by the *Culloden* were, as yet, at some distance from the main body of their own fleet, which was bearing down in great disorder to join their separated ships. Sir John probably intended to cut them off from the fleet, but its rapid approach induced him to change his resolution, and he immediately formed into a line of battle. The British Admiral made a signal about half past eleven for breaking the enemy's line: the *Culloden*, as the van ship, commenced the action, Captain Trowbridge directing his fire against the van ships of the Spaniards to windward; and the

battle raged as the enemy approached, when Sir John succeeded in passing through the Spanish line.

Having cut off a part of the fleet from the main body, the British Admiral turned all his attention towards the separated division, which was reduced to 18 sail of the line. At twelve, a signal was given for again passing through the enemy's line, while it appeared that Admiral Cordova wished to effect a junction with his separated ships to leeward, by completely turning the rear of the British fleet. As the Commodore's (Nelson) station in the rear, enabled him the more easily to penetrate the designs of the Spanish admiral, he was determined, if possible, to render them abortive. His ship, the Captain of 74 guns, no sooner passed the rear of the enemy, than he gave orders to wear and stand towards the Spaniards on the other tack, in the execution of which daring undertaking, he was soon alongside of the admiral's own ship, the Santissima Trinidad of 136 guns, reputed the largest ship in the world. This gallant officer, however, engaged this monstrous ship, although he was at the same time attacked by other two three-deckers, the one a-head, and the other a-stern of the Admiral's: the Blenheim and Cul-loden soon came up to his assistance during this unequal conflict, which, together with the approach of Rear-Admiral Parker, determined Cordova to abandon the idea of effecting a junction with his ships to leeward. By this time it was manifest, that victory would declare in favour of the British; for while the advanced division was closely engaged with the centre and rear of the enemy's fleet, the Admiral intended to co-operate with the detachment under his

own immediate command. The Spanish fleet retreated in confusion, Admiral Jervis determined to reach the weathermost of their ships, then to bear up, and rake them one after another: but unforeseen circumstances prevented the execution of this plan, for which reason he made a signal to Captain Collingwood, of the *Excellent*, to bear up, being the van ship, while he himself, in the *Victory*, went to leeward of the rear-most ships of the enemy. In executing his orders Captain Collingwood passed between the two last ships of the Spaniards, giving the *San Isidro* such a dreadful broadside, that she was under the necessity of striking. Collingwood then proceeded to the relief of the Captain, closely engaged with a three-decker, but she ran foul of her second before his arrival, and this ship, the *San Nicholas*, was presently captured by the British Admiral's fleet: the three-decker, called the *San Joseph*, shared the same fate. The *Victory*, at the same time was placed on the lee quarter of the *Salvador del Mundo*, the then rear ship of the enemy, who poured into her such a terrible broadside, that she deemed it proper to strike her colours, especially as she perceived the *Barfleur* bearing fast down to assist the *Victory*.

Sir John Jervis thus got possession of four of the enemy's ships, while the van of the British fleet continued to press hard on the *Santissima Trinidad*, and the rest of the ships composing the Spanish rear of the retreating fleet; but unforeseen circumstances prevented the British Admiral from making so many captures as he would otherwise have done. The ships separated from the fleet in the morning, now began to approach, together with two fresh ships,



which had never appeared in the action: the late hour, joined to these circumstances, determined Sir John to bring to, forming a strong line for the defence of the prizes, and such of his own ships as were very much disabled. The fresh ships of the enemy opened a terrible fire on the covering ships as soon as they came up, but their rage was instantly spent, for they sheered off in a short time, leaving the British commander to carry off his prizes without molestation, viz. the *Salvador del Mundo* and *San Joseph* of 112 guns each, and the *San Nicholas* of 84, with the *San Isidro* of 74 guns. The *Santissima Trinidad* made her escape, but as a perfect wreck, having ceased her firing before the action terminated, and, as some have maintained, even struck her colours. The loss of the British, in this memorable action is stated at 300 men killed and wounded, while the four captured ships had lost 693, and it may be presumed, that the loss of those which escaped, was also considerable.

It must be acknowledged that Sir John Jervis displayed uncommon skill and invincible courage during the whole of this action, since he had to engage a fleet nearly twice as numerous as his own, and possessed of more than twice his metal: the enemy, in such a disabled state, discovered no inclination to renew the contest, but took refuge in port, where they were blocked up by their gallant conqueror. The British ministry were not long in the possession of the news of this victory, before Sir John Jervis was created a British peer, under the designation of Earl St. Vincent.

The eclat attendant upon this victory encouraged the British admiral to fit out an expedition against

Teneriffe, to be commanded by the intrepid Nelson, now a rear admiral. The squadron, consisting of four ships of the line, three frigates, and two cutters, easily got possession of Santa Cruz, but the Spaniards poured down in such numbers, that the British were obliged to evacuate their post, and betake to their ships in the best manner they could. In this unfortunate expedition Admiral Nelson lost his right arm by a cannon ball, and Captain Bowen, with his First Lieutenant, and the whole of his boat's crew, went to the bottom: a shell falling into the boat while they were rowing to the shore. The captain of marinés on board the Emerald was killed, and Captain Freemantle wounded. The total loss of the British on this occasion, amounted to near 300 killed and wounded, a carnage little inferior to the memorable 14th of February.

On the 16th of July Sir J. B. Warren discovered a French frigate in Hodierne Bay, with 14 transports, laden with stores for the navy of France. The British Commodore captured eight of them, destroyed two, and drove on shore the convoy frigate, called the Calliope. A corvette was driven ashore on the 11th, and a gunboat was sunk at the entrance into the bay of Sables d'Olonne, by the same naval officer; and, on the 27th, he took five more prizes, near the mouth of the Garonne, richly laden with military and naval stores, for the ships of war and privateers in the neighbouring harbours.

In the West Indies this year was memorable for the reduction of Trinidad, taken by the British troops in the month of February, under the command of that much to be lamented officer, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who went out with a squadron, commanded

by Rear Admiral Hervey. The forces destined for this expedition were embarked on the 12th, at Fort Royal, in Martinique. Four days after the British came in sight of Trinidad, standing towards the Gulph of Paria. The Spanish Squadron was perceived at anchor, in Shagranus Bay, before four in the afternoon, consisting of four sail of the line, and one frigate. Next morning the Squadron of the enemy was discovered to be on fire, and all of them, except one, were consumed to ashes. This fortunate change of circumstances enabled the General to turn his whole attention to the attack of the town, of which he made himself master, with little or no opposition. A capitulation was next entered on by the Governor, and the whole island surrendered to the King of Great Britain.

The same forces afterwards made an attempt upon Porto-Rico, which was not accompanied with equal success. On the 17th of April Admiral Hervey's fleet reached the island of Porto-Rico, and came to an anchor at Congrejos Point: the disembarkation of the troops, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, took place next morning, when they met with little opposition from about 100 men; but the town was strongly fortified, and defended by such a number of gunboats, that the reduction of it appeared altogether hopeless. After it had been bombarded for some days without success, the General embarked his troops on the 30th of April, having lost about 200 men. On his arrival at Barbadoes, General Abercrombie informed the Council, that he was desired to raise some regiments of negroes. to be purchased from the different islands be-

longing to Great Britain : this proposition was warmly opposed, from a conviction, that it was dangerous to entrust the negroes with offensive weapons. Slavery is incompatible with the principles of human nature, and, consequently those, who are held in chains, can never be trusted.

At the period when the British navy was thus gloriously defending and securing the empire, the poor defenceless sailors were driven to the necessity of making a hostile demand upon their own government, for a sufficient quantity of comfort and pay to enable them to perform their duties. From the fleet at Portsmouth Earl Howe received some letters in the month of February, from the crews of different ships, praying his Lordship to use his influence with government to grant them redress : but though Lord Howe was not an English minister, he possessed as much ignorance, arrogance, and haughtiness, as English ministers generally do : and, therefore, he considered complaints coming from persons without fortune as wholly beneath his notice. This neglect was not forgotten by the sailors, on their return to port on the 31st of March, when their mutual correspondence was diffused through the whole fleet, and a resolution unanimously adopted, that they would never again put to sea till they had accomplished their object. In this alarming situation matters continued till the 14th of April, when Lord Bridport received orders from the Admiralty to sail with the Channel fleet. In attempting to put these orders in execution, his Lordship was greatly mortified to find that his authority was despised, and the men of his own ship ran up the shrouds, giving three cheers, which were immediately returned by the whole fleet, and

left the Admiral no room for doubting, that it was a combination previously agreed upon. The petty officers seemed to take part with the men, and the exertions of the commanders to procure obedience were utterly unavailing: they maintained a degree of peace and good order, that could only have been expected from men convinced of the justice of their cause, and their refractory conduct was confined to the disobedience of orders: they prevented the officers from going on shore, appointed delegates from every ship, and the Admiral's cabin was the place appointed for their meetings and deliberations; they next drew up petitions, and presented them to the admirals present, in which they demanded an increase of wages, and particular regulations were specified relative to the quantity of provisions they expected in future; expressing their hope, that the prayer of their petition would be complied with, before being again ordered to sail, but with this limitation, in the genuine spirit of tars; "unless the enemy were known to be at sea," which proved they could distinguish between the justice of their country and the justice of the government.

They were publicly sworn, on the 17th, to support the cause in which they had embarked, and, next day, a committee of the Admiralty, headed by Earl Spencer, arrived at Portsmouth, making a number of propositions to the seamen, with a view to break their combination. The delegates from the different ships met on board the *Queen Charlotte*, and, in a firm and temperate petition, stated their grievances to parliament, and implored redress; and, after a sort of bargaining, in which the Lords of the Admiralty conceded the principal points to the delegates, Lord

Bridport, informed them, that he had procured a redress of all their grievances, and the full pardon of his Majesty, for every person who had been active in obtaining this justice, which appeared to give general satisfaction, and the seamen all returned to the discharge of their duty: but when Mr. Pitt, in parliament, moved for an increase of pay, his omitting to specify the reasons of the petitioners for making such an application, was considered by some of them as an evidence that he did not mean to comply. Accordingly, when Lord Bridport, on the 7th of May, made a signal for putting to sea, the whole ships at St. Helens evinced their former disobedience.

The London was then appointed for another meeting of the delegates, when Admiral Colpoys resolved to prevent them from coming on board, giving orders to the marines to fire upon them, when a few men were killed. The crew of the London then pointed their guns towards the stern, and, in a menacing tone, declared they would blow all the officers into the water, if they did not immediately surrender: they were obliged, although reluctantly, to comply, and the Admiral and Captain Griffiths were confined in different cabins for some hours. The mutiny, which was still confined to Portsmouth, now assumed a most alarming aspect; and on the 14th of May, Lord Howe came from the Admiralty with full powers to investigate the whole business, and settle the disputes between Government and the sailors. What rendered his appearance infinitely more acceptable was, that he had, in his possession, an act of parliament, passed on the 9th, granting an additional allowance, and the plenary pardon of his Majesty in favour of all such as should immediately

return to their duty and allegiance: the happiest effects were instantly apparent. On the 15th the delegates from the different ships went to the Governor's house at Portsmouth, and afterwards went in procession to the fleet, accompanied by Lord Howe and his lady, a number of superior officers, and different persons of distinction. The mutinous flag was then struck, and the fleet was made ready for putting to sea.

It was matter of satisfaction to the public in general, to hear that the grievances of their principal defenders, were redressed by authority of parliament, and that, in consequence thereof, they had ceased to be disobedient: but this pleasure was suddenly converted into consternation by a fresh mutiny in another quarter—a mutiny which cannot be equalled in the naval history of this country. The fleet in the North Sea, and the ships at the Nore, insisted on the redress of other grievances, independent of those which were connected with wages and provisions: they chose delegates, like the seamen at Portsmouth, but who happened not to be equally cool and reflecting men, except Richard Parker, whom they appointed to be their president. They confined, or sent ashore, their principal officers, and dispatched to the Lords of the Admiralty a number of articles, with a demand of unqualified compliance, if their future obedience was to be expected. Government conceived many of their demands as utterly inconsistent with naval discipline, although a more equal division of prize-money was considered as by no means unreasonable. Unconditional submission was insisted upon by Government, while others appre-

hended that mild and conciliatory measures would produce much happier effects than force or violence.

The flag of Admiral Buckner was struck by the mutineers on the 23d of May, and the bloody flag was hoisted, as the signal of rebellion: they forced all the ships near Sheerness to drop down to the Nore, and appointed two delegates from each man of war, besides a committee of twelve in each ship, not only employed to manage the internal affairs of the vessel, but to decide on the merits of the several delegates. As the mutiny proceeded to the most dreadful length, a deputation of the Lords of the Admiralty went to Sheerness, where they held no conferences with the delegates, as was the case at Portsmouth, unqualified submission being demanded as an essential preliminary. Instead of obedience, they only exhibited insolence and rebellion, when they were informed that no concessions would be made by Government beyond what had been experienced by the seamen at Portsmouth, of which they might yet have the benefit by an immediate return to their duty. The Lords of the Admiralty then departed from them, on which they began to feel themselves in a desperate situation, as a vigorous defence, or safety by flight were their only alternatives. A deserting to the enemy with the fleet was the proposition of some, while Parker, their president, and some others, in spite of their conduct, rejected the idea with abhorrence, since it went infinitely beyond the object they originally had in view, and from which they were determined never to depart. To facilitate a compliance with their demands they endeavoured to destroy the trade of the metropolis, by blocking up the River Thames; but the vessels of neutral



countries, and colliers, were permitted to go up and down the river, if furnished with passports bearing the signature of Richard Parker, as president of the delegates.

It is a singular circumstance, that, although they were in such an alarming state of mutiny, they exhibited the greatest loyalty on the 4th of June, in celebrating the anniversary of his Majesty's birth-day. On the morning of the 6th, the *Agamemnon*, *Leopard*, *Ardent*, and *Isis* men of war, together with the sloop *Ranger*, deserted the fleet under the command of Admiral Duncan, and joined the mutineers at the Nore: they had then, in all, twenty-four sail, eleven of which were ships of the line, drawn up in order of battle, and evincing a disposition to resist, to the last extremity, every exertion of Government to reduce them to submission. This was a spectacle vastly more awful than the most terrible conflict with a foreign enemy, either by sea or land. As they could have no communication with the shore they endeavoured to supply themselves with water and provisions from the ships they detained: but this mutiny having originated in the vulgar passion of ignorant minds, desirous of being great men for a few days, terminated as soon as the tars were satisfied with their holiday. The officers were, in many cases, allowed to mix among the sailors, and partly by gifts, and partly by persuasion, they prevailed upon the great body of men to desert their delegates. This disposition being pretty well ascertained, several proclamations were issued, in the King's name, denouncing vengeance against all who should continue in the mutiny: the bold became desperate and the wavering dismayed, which led the ships to

withdraw themselves from the confederacy, one by one, till, at last, the crew of the Sandwich seized their own delegate, Parker, and delivered him up to the commanding officer, by whom he was sent to Maidstone gaol to take his trial for mutiny. After a minute investigation of facts and circumstances, Parker was fully convicted, and received sentence of death, which he heard with magnanimity and firmness. In a few days after he was executed on board the Sandwich, having been considered as the principal ring-leader, although many have entertained an opposite opinion, and, therefore, believed that his fate was by much too severe : it appears certain, that the mutinous crews compelled him to act as he did, under the fear of death, viewing him as possessed of talents superior to the bulk of common sailors ; and there is good reason to believe that the mutiny would have risen to a more alarming height had it not been for the influence which he acquired over them.

The execution of Parker was only the prelude to a long series of similar triumphs, equally honourable to an administration composed of such men as composed the administration of that time. For several months the English journals contained long lists of these subdued, and, therefore, harmless, individuals, being put to death, with such circumstances of cold-blooded and sanguinary cruelty as could only be expected from a nation, which is to the full as famous for its executions, as it thinks it is, for its charities !

This year was remarkable for the almost total evaporation of that spirit of discontent, which had prevailed amongst the people on the continent during the whole period after the French revolution commenced, and also for the vigour with which it main-

tained its ground in England and Ireland. One great reason for this contrast was, that the people on the continent had an opportunity of witnessing the practical effect of French fraternity, whilst those of England could only compare the speculative advantages of remote theories with the daily felt oppressions of their own government. In France, those among the patriots, who had talked the loudest, risen the highest, and lived the longest, had proved themselves to be mere robbers, who meant nothing more than to raise themselves at the expense of their neighbours: with these the people of France were so disgusted that they would have been glad to have taken the very worst of them for king, for the sake of providing a scourge and a curse for the rest. In Germany the literary men and philosophers had, by their number and their diligence, spread a vast fund of information amongst the people, which had shewn them how little their happiness was increased by the petty pomp of their lords: but philosophy is very poor stuff for people to live upon for long together! and they now began to discover that the literati held them in as much contempt for their ignorance as the nobles did for their poverty; so that they regulated themselves by the vulgar proverb, "It is better to be ruled by the devil that you know, than by one that is a stranger."

The Dutch patriots conducted their revolution in the true spirit of trade: they had paid the French a large sum, to assist them in driving the Prince of Orange out, and now they offered double that sum if they would take themselves off! But Monsieur found himself too comfortably lodged to think of changing his quarters; yet he had no objection to

accept of the civilities that were tendered to him, just for the sake of affording the Batavian chiefs an opportunity of shewing their good-nature. New bodies of troops were constantly marched into Holland, half-starved and half-naked, and, as soon as they were fed and cloathed, were sent off, to make way for a fresh devouring race. Many of the trading patriots, by these means, became interested by contracts and jobs; but it was impossible to recognize the character of a friend to his country in a French commissary; and, therefore, it was natural that the people should curse the hands that were the instruments of their daily spoiliations. The balance of accounts was everywhere struck between the old government and the new; and every fisherman and peasant found, in a comparison of comforts and advantages, that he had lost fifty per cent. by the change.

In England and Ireland the people had experienced no change, and, therefore, they were not so fully aware, as they ought to have been, how much easier it is to point out existing abuses than to apply the most suitable amendments; yet it must not be denied that the English Government was most monstrous and oppressive, and the government of Ireland was worse. Little praise can, indeed, be given to the governments, of either England or Ireland, at this time, for they never attempted any measure whatever that was calculated to promote the comfort and happiness of the people; but they openly and insolently adopted every violent measure that they thought calculated to drive the people into open rebellion: instead of any attempt to conciliate and soften down the asperities, which a burdensome and

oppressive system of taxation could not fail to excite, the administrative authorities went out of the way to provoke and irritate their injured countrymen: it was a matter of curious speculation to the continent of Europe, to know how the future historian would characterize the English parliament—that parliament, which, aided by the cant phrase “King and Constitution!” either trampled upon, or suffered others to trample upon, every principle of English liberty and English law. A considerable body of Englishmen met in a field, to discuss their grievances, and to deliberate upon the sort of remonstrance that it would be proper to make to Government: the persons assembling took every precaution that the law enjoined, and preserved the peace with the most rigid care; yet the magistracy appointed the most ignorant and brutal fellow, that ever sat upon any bench, to go and throw the meeting into confusion, in the name of Justice! as soon, therefore, as the President took the chair, this magisterial ruffian ordered him to be knocked down; his myrmidons did knock the President down, and, with several other persons, took him prisoner to Bow-street. Now the English Government did not pretend that the person they thus maltreated had been guilty of a breach of the law; yet, when the President brought his action against the magistrate, for an assault and false imprisonment, the King’s Attorney-General stood, shamelessly, forward, not to defend this representative,—this fac-simile of English justice, but to screen him by a quibble! the conduct of the ministry was, in this, as in most other cases, such as even rogues had not impudence to justify, and, therefore, they defeated the purposes of justice by an evasion.

Posterity will hardly form a wrong opinion of the Pitt government, when it reads the statements which that government laid before parliament, of the pains it took, and the sums it spent, to convict and punish offenders, while it never bestowed a single hour, nor spent a single shilling, to encrease the domestic comforts of the people, or to introduce the least moral improvement, by which a poor man might be able to give his offspring an education fit to keep them from the gallows.

Whilst the comforts and happiness of the people were thus neglected, the ministry proceeded, unblushingly, in the distributions of pensions and emoluments amongst themselves. This sordid spirit was sensibly felt by the nation, and if the people had not possessed more real love for their country, and more temperance than the ministers, they would have been provoked into a civil war; but, from this year, they began to relax in their opposition, and to watch the Minister with silent contempt; from a clear and firm conviction, that his own haughty spirit would be a most effectual scourge for his pride, and accomplish his complete humiliation. The irritable temper of the Irish would not suffer them to submit so patiently to be degraded and oppressed: there had been a man of honour appointed to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and he had consulted the happiness of the country, by treating the people as reasonable beings, possessing a will, and capable of judging for themselves. Such a conduct could not fail to offend the cabinet of St. James's; the policy of which, was to command, not to consult, and who had endeavoured to suppress every thing like popular enquiry and public opinion. The honourable Lord Lieute-

nant was, therefore, replaced by a creature, whose only merit consisted in the strength he mustered to bear him up under a very heavy pension, for which he never rendered the nation the smallest service, but which perfectly qualified him as an instrument for a cabal, that was then infamous, and is now become despicable. The Irish felt, upon this occasion, all the heart-burnings of a conquered people; and, as to a nation which resolved to force upon them a governor of the most offensive principles, they could only view it in the character of an invader and an enemy. The pensioned lord was justly, and deservedly, detested by the people; but he took ample revenge by a long series of cruelties, which proved that the whole spirit of his party rested upon him; and which will brand him with so much infamy in the eyes of posterity, that the very name of Jeffries will be disgraced by being found in such company!



## CHAPTER XX.

*Overthrow of the Venetian Government.—The Ligurian Republic established —Errors of the English People.—Negociation for Peace.—New Revolution in France.—Rupture of the Negociation.—Victory obtained over the Dutch Fleet.—Parisian Declamation against England.—Treaty of Campo Formio.*

THE busy genius of Buonaparté, indeed, kept the revolutionary spirit alive in the South, but his were mere revolutions of power, not of principles. His will called in the auxiliary aid of his power, and he determined the morality of any measure by the means he had to execute it. He had long complained of the Venetian Government, and charged it with favouring the Austrians, as well as acting treacherously towards his troops; all of which a few very polite people may allow to be true, but others may be apt to indulge some doubts, when they see the General take upon himself at once the character of *le Juge et le Bourreau*. "What!" said the General, in a letter to the Doge, "did you think I would tamely suffer the massacres excited by the Venetian Government? The blood of our brethren in arms," continued he, "shall be avenged; and there is not a French battalion, charged with this mission, which does not feel three times the courage and strength necessary to punish you:—the Republic of Venice has returned the blackest perfidy for the generous treatment she has received from France." He concluded with offering peace or war; and informed his Serenity, that if he did not instantly adopt the



necessary measures for dispersing the banditti, as he called the persons of whom he complained, and arrest, and deliver up, within twenty-fours, the persons, who, it was said, had assassinated some French soldiers, *war was declared.*

The Senate thought proper to publish a proclamation relative to these complaints: their conduct, they said, during the commotions in Europe, had always been, and still was, so perfectly neutral and friendly towards the Belligerent Powers, that they did not think it necessary to pay the least attention to the evil-disposed persons, who pretended to question their sincerity: but as these malignant enemies of the Republic had disseminated the vilest slanders against the sincerity of the peaceable disposition of the Venetian Government, the Senate was under the necessity of declaring, that their friendship with France was not in the least altered: the Senate, therefore, entertained no doubt but the French nation would treat these calumnies with the contempt they deserved, and repose that confidence in the Republic of Venice which it had merited by its irreproachable conduct.

No satisfaction was offered by the Senate, and on the 3d of May, the General issued a manifesto from his quarters at Palma-Nova, purporting, that, while the French were engaged in the defiles of Stiria, and far advanced from Italy, and the principal establishments of the army, the Venetian Government had profited of a religious festival to arm 40,000 peasants, who, being joined by 10 regiments of Sclavonians, were organized into battalions, and sent to different points, for the purpose of intercepting all communication between the army and Lombardy.

Military stores, of every description, had been sent from Venice to complete the organization of these corps: his countrymen had been grossly insulted and driven from that city, and offices bestowed on those who had presided at the massacre of Frenchmen. The people of Padua, Vicenza, and Verona, had been ordered to take up arms, to second the different corps of the regular troops, and, at last, to commence the new Sicilian vespers; while the Venetian officers carried their audacity so far, as to assert, that it belonged to the Lion of St. Mark to verify the Proverb, "that, Italy is the grave of the French." The priests every where preached a crusade;—and the priests, in the state of Venice, utter only the will of government. Pamphlets, perfidious proclamations, and anonymous letters, had been circulated with profusion through all their territories; but, in a state, where the liberty of the press is not tolerated by a government, as much feared as it is secretly detested, authors write, and printers publish, nothing but what is sanctioned by the Senate. The General then proceeded to give a detail of the assassinations which had been committed in the towns and in the country. In this mournful list, the most prominent act of atrocity, is the massacre of the sick in the hospitals at Verona, where 400 Frenchmen, he said, pierced with a thousand wounds from stilettoes, were thrown into the Adige: he concluded with requiring the French minister to leave Venice, and directed the generals of division to treat as enemies the troops of the Venetian Government, and trample in the dust the Lion of St. Mark.

Accordingly the battalions, destined to inflict a signal vengeance on Venice, began their march, and,

in a few days, the whole Terra Firma, lay suppliant at the feet of the Conqueror. The Veronese were punished with the greatest severity : several thousands of armed peasantry, who presumed to contest the progress of the French divisions, were cut in pieces, or dispersed. A body of Sclavonians, who had joined them, retired to a large building, or fort, in which were deposited all their powder-waggon and ammunition. A howitzer was pointed against this building, which was soon blown into the air, and 500 Sclavonians literally annihilated ! After another bloody engagement, the French detachment reached the walls of Verona, which immediately surrendered.

The Venetian Government now became humble and abject : the Doge, having assembled the Senate, it was resolved that the Government should suspend all its functions, and that the Republic, throwing itself on the mercy of France, should accept a provisional government from the latter : it was also decreed, that the *proveditori*, and other magistrates, of whose conduct the French complained, should be delivered up, in order to be punished. On the 16th of May, a body of French troops took possession of the city, after which a municipality was formed, and every thing modelled according to the democratic *regime*. The most perfect liberty of the press (i. e. a right to praise Buonaparté and his government) was established, the Catholic religion remained unaltered, and persons and property continued unmolested ; but the ships of war, and the stores in the arsenals, were taken possession of in the name of the French Republic.

Genoa was attacked upon much the same grounds :

it was impossible, that that country, considering its vicinity to France, and the presence of the Republican army, could escape the influence of that spirit of innovation which had electrified the rest of Europe. The French Government pretended, that it had forborne to punish the Genoese nobility for the clandestine aid they afforded to the Imperial army when in their neighbourhood, and for their marked attention to the partisans of Austria. The greater part of the people of Genoa had imbibed the principles of democratical liberty, and many tumults had happened between them and the adherents of the old government. The establishment of the Cisalpine Republic had rendered the disaffected more daring, while some imprudent acts of the state-inquisitors, and the two councils, embroiled them with the French Minister, and completed the revolution. This silly government, persuaded of its inability to stem the torrent, sent deputies to Buonaparté at Montebello, where a convention was concluded on the 6th of June.

The first article of this constitutional arrangement declared, that the government of the Genoese Republic acknowledged the sovereignty to reside in the aggregate of all the citizens of its territory. The legislative power was entrusted to two representative councils, and the executive delegated to a senate of ten members, to be nominated by the councils. Municipalities and administrative bodies were established in the communes and districts, on the model of France, and a committee of legislation was charged with framing a constitution, and all the fundamental laws of the Republic, with the reserve of doing nothing contrary to the Catholic religion. The people now

thought themselves restored to the enjoyment of their rights, every kind of exclusive privilege infringing on the constitutional liberties of the nation, was supposed to be annulled: the subsequent articles of this convention, regulated the establishment of a provisional Government, over which the reigning Doge was to preside; it was likewise stipulated, that the French Republic, being desirous of giving a proof of the interest it takes in the happiness of the Genoese people, and of seeing them united, and their internal tranquillity re-established, granted an amnesty to all those against whom she had ground of complaint, either on account of the late excesses, or of the events that had occurred in the Imperial Fiefs. The provisional Government was to employ its utmost endeavours to extinguish faction, grant a general amnesty, and unite the people in rallying round the public liberty. At the same time, France agreed to give her *protection, and even the assistance of its armies, to the Genoese Republic*, in order to facilitate, if necessary, the execution of these articles, and maintain the integrity of the territory of the Republic: this new modelled affair, was baptized "*Ligurian Republic.*"

During these transactions the negotiations did not proceed with the activity, usually characterising Buonaparté's measures; but he himself was busily occupied in consolidating the new Republics which his victories had founded in Italy. The Bolognese, Ferrarese, Modenese, and Romagna, were incorporated with Lombardy, and the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics completely organized. It is superfluous to relate the advances and retrogressions of the negotiating parties; not one of the powers

had so great an interest in the throwing obstacles in the way of peace as France; and yet it is wonderful with what adroitness that power has always attributed the whole hostile spirit to her antagonists.

Various mistakes had been committed by the friends of liberty in England during the whole period of their struggle against the encroachments of tyranny; and one very important one has been a belief, that the English Government is averse to peace. The truth is, that it was matter of indifference to the ministers, whether they were at peace or war, so that they could but each secure the labour of from one hundred to one thousand persons, constantly ministering to their different appetites and pleasures: their only fear was, lest the people should resolve to work less, and eat more; and the clamour that the people kept up about peace, served greatly to divert their attention from what ought to have been their more immediate object—their pleasure and happiness.

The finances of the country became now a subject of considerable embarrassment to the Minister; and the only thing wanting to have driven him from his post was, a resolution on the part of the people, that they *would* work less, and eat more; in this case his loan-jobbers and contractors would have been obliged to have cultivated the earth for themselves, instead of living upon the bonuses and premiums, pinched out of the bellies of the half-starved labourers and mechanics, whose utmost industry was insufficient to supply half their real wants.

Peace now seemed necessary to lengthen out the patience of the people, and fresh overtures were made to the French Government, though Mr. Pitt

afterwards acknowledged, that the attempt was only made to afford a reasonable excuse for laying on a heavier weight of taxes.

Lord Malmesbury was appointed, once more, plenipotentiary for Great Britain, and arrived at Lisle in the beginning of July. He exchanged his powers with the French plenipotentiaries, and had his first conference on the 8th of that month, when he delivered in what his court conceived to be the basis of negotiation—the most prominent features of which were, that the situation of the two countries before the war should be adopted as a proper basis, every conquest be restored not excepted by the present treaty; and every conquest obtained by the British should be given up, except the islands of Trinidad, Ceylon, and the Cape of Good Hope: it was also expected that the effects of the Stadtholder should be restored, or something given, as a compensation for the loss of his hereditary dignities. No reasonable objection could be opposed to the Project of the English Government; it was perfectly liberal and fair, and bore all the marks of moderation and frankness; but the majority of the French Directors were ignorant and little-minded men, who had accustomed themselves to such a habit of quibbling, that they were no longer capable of discerning the point where their true interests lay.

The title of King of France, which the kings of England had borne ever since Henry the VIth was crowned at Rheims, they strongly objected to, and declared that the English could never be considered as acknowledging the Republic till it was utterly abolished. They required compensation for the ships taken or destroyed in the port of Toulon, which demand was founded on a pretence, that they could

only be held by Britain, as a deposit, till the Republic was acknowledged; and this being done, it was necessary to restore them, or grant a suitable indemnification: it was besides required of the British Ambassador to declare, whether his Government had received any mortgage upon the Low Countries, for the monies advanced to the Emperor, as the French Government had resolved to fulfil no such condition. Lord Malmfbury replied, "That he was sure peace on such terms would not be accomplished:" he employed every argument to convince them of the injudiciousness of introducing such topics so prematurely; for as the Directory had given no opinion of the leading principles of his Project, it would be unwise to throw any obstacle in the way of the negotiation, by such trifling difficulties. As individuals, the ministers might feel the force of his Lordship's reasoning, but their instructions upon this point were so positive and precise, that, in their diplomatic capacity, they were obliged to insist upon those points: they, therefore, sent to the Directory for further instructions, which occasioned a considerable delay. Lord Malmfbury, on the 12th of August, was confidentially informed, by one of the Republican envoys, that the delay originated from the necessity there was to consult with the Allies of the Republic, and was informed, on the 14th, that they would receive their final instructions in the course of a few days. On the 28th his Lordship was informed, that the answer returned by Holland, was so unsatisfactory, that it was sent to the Dutch Ministers at Paris, who durst not venture to alter it agreeably to the wishes of the Directory without first applying to their own government for fresh instructions.



Important as the Negotiation would have been at any other time, the attention of all classes of people was so entirely engrossed, in the contemplation of a violent conflict that was evidently about to take place between the Legislative and Executive bodies at Paris, that scarcely any interest was taken in its progress, and few persons expected any advantages from its conclusion. The concussion, now rapidly about to take place, could not fail to paralyze the resolutions of the Directory; and the possibility of their overthrow, left them undecided as to the ground upon which they should treat; nor could the British Cabinet be more desirous of hastening the conclusion of a treaty, which might be disavowed by a new government in the course of a weeks.

The public attention was now directed to Paris more anxiously than ever, and particularly so, as the world in general was wholly ignorant of the matters in dispute between the different branches of the Government. Whatever were the real and absolute designs of the contending parties, it is possible that they lie buried in the breasts of some few persons, who have not yet disclosed them to the public; but, as far as a close attention to passing events, and an impartial observation of the conduct and manners of the different persons concerned, will lead to a just decision, they were only such as a moderate share of prudence, and good humour, would have rendered subservient to the cause of real liberty.

The spirit of moderation, which the French Government had sometime recommended to the people, had enabled a great number of moderate men to obtain seats in the councils: those persons were anxious to repair all the evils which the violence of

the Revolution had occasioned; and fearing, lest some untoward change might deprive them of the opportunity which fortune had put into their hands, they proposed their measures too rapidly for persons of opposite sentiments to be able to acknowledge their propriety. The re-establishment of the Catholic religion, and the recal of the Emigrants, were objects that they were determined to effect, but the Directory regarded those measures, as incompatible with the duration of the Republic, and with the existence of their own power: it was industriously reported, that a conspiracy was formed with a view to establish royalty, and each of the parties threw the same charge at its antagonist. The Legislators made no scruple of avowing, that, if it were the wish of the people to have royalty established, it ought to be restored; and the Executors maintained, that the very attempt to take the public opinion upon such a question was an act of rebellion, and deserved the punishment due to treason. The Representatives of the people contended, that unless they were at liberty to discuss every subject with equal freedom, the name of liberty was a mere mockery, and that a government, which would suppress any kind of free discussion, whether they called themselves Republicans or Royalists, were in fact tyrants! The Representatives charged the Directory with a design to establish the sovereign power in their own hands, and the Directors charged the Representatives with a design to betray their constituents, by restoring Louis the XVIIIth to the throne. The Executive Power evinced a determination to overawe the Councils by an armed force, and the Legislators resolved that their deliberations should be free and unmolested; the princi-





*General Vicheguin.*

*Painted by M. L. B. in 1780.*

ples of the representatives were justified both by reason and the laws; but, as the Directory attached no other idea to the term liberty, than *the triumph of their own party*, they collected a large armed force round Paris, contrary to the express prohibition of the constitution, which was said to be a declaration of the public will, and, having corrupted the soldiers, surrounded the Legislative Body, and picked out every representative who differed from them in opinion. General Augereau, who was charged to execute this despotic measure, conducted Pichegru, the President of the Council of Five Hundred, and all the other obnoxious representatives, to the Temple, from whence they were transported, without even the form of a trial, or any process in the shape of a public accusation. Amongst the number of persons ordered for transportation were two of the Five Directors; for, such was the intolerant spirit of these pretended sons of freedom, that they could not *bear* the slightest contradiction: the minority of *two* differed in opinion from the majority of *three*, and this was deemed a sufficient offence to entitle them to the epithet of traitors, and to the punishment of treason. Carnot was fortunate enough to make his escape, but the other Director (Barthelemy) with Pichegru, Willot, and sixty others, were sent off as exiles to Cayenne. Having succeeded in establishing their despotism, the triumvirate hastened to take every precaution necessary to secure it: the press appeared likely to be their greatest enemy, and they resolved, by a mark of the most decisive terror, to put an end, at once, to every apprehension of that sort. A sweeping decree was passed without the least warning, by

which forty-two public journals were seized upon and suppressed, and it concluded whimsically enough that all the proprietors, managers, directors, authors, editors, and *fellow-labourers*, belonging to the journals named in the decree, should be transported without delay, by order of the Directory!

The temper of the Directory, with regard to the Negotiation, was not long concealed after their triumph: their ambassadors, who had in effect acceded to the principle of the treaty, as laid down by the British Government, were recalled from Lisle, and two others substituted in their place. These new ambassadors informed Lord Malmesbury, that their powers were very extensive, and hoped that the business would be amicably terminated in a short time, if his powers were as ample; but they could only treat with his Lordship on the general principle of restitution, they, therefore, wished to be informed, if he was prepared to meet them on that ground, to which he answered in the negative, and remarked that the demand of the Directory as to full restitution, justified him in doubting their sincerity. On the 15th he was peremptorily asked whether he was possessed of powers which might enable him to accede to the restitution of every possession taken from France, or her Allies, and on being answered as before, the French Minister read to his Lordship a decree of the Directory, by which he was ordered to depart in twenty-four hours, and fetch the necessary qualifications. Thus was the nation, a second time, insulted in the person of its ambassador, by a government, whose captured possessions the English Government could have sold for a sum equal to its own national debt.

As the British ministry were well informed that the Irish were making great efforts to procure auxiliaries from France, and that the Batavian Republic had been making formidable preparations for some nava expedition, the fleet under the command of Admiral Duncan, had blockaded the Texel during the greater part of the summer. The English Admiral having left his station, and proceeded to Yarmouth Roads, for the purpose of refitting. Admiral de Winter, with the Dutch fleet, put to sea. Captain Trollope, in the *Russel* of 74 guns, with a small squadron under his command, was left to watch the motions of the enemy; and on the 9th of October, a signal was made to Admiral Duncan off Yarmouth roads, that the enemy's fleet was at sea. The British fleet, consisting of sixteen sail of the line, and three frigates, got under sail with astonishing rapidity, and by the afternoon lost sight of the land. Captain Trollope's small squadron was perceived on the morning of the 11th with signals flying, to intimate that an enemy's fleet was to leeward. The fleet under the command of Admiral de Winter, consisted of four ships of 74 guns, five of 68, two of 64, four of 56, and two of 44 guns. Admiral Duncan gave the signal for engaging, and was obeyed with the utmost alacrity, Vice-Admiral Onslow in the *Monarch*, bearing down upon the rear of the enemy, whose gallant example was followed by every ship of his division. Before one o'clock the battle commenced, when the whole British fleet broke the line of the enemy, and made it impracticable for them to reach the Texel, the land being about seven miles distant. Admiral Onslow, with the larboard division of the British fleet, engaged the rear of the Dutch, while the commander

in chief directed all his strength against their van; the *Venerable*, in which he himself sailed, having been incessantly engaged almost two hours and a half. Although all the masts of *De Winter's* own ship went by the board, he fought for some time after like a true son of Mars, and only struck his colours when overpowered by numbers: it is said that not a single officer was left upon the quarter-deck of the Dutch flag-ship, but the Admiral himself, the whole of them being either killed or wounded. The Vice-admiral's ship lost all her masts about the same time, and accordingly struck to Admiral Onslow's division. Before three o'clock more of the enemy's fleet surrendered; but as Admiral Duncan found himself in only nine fathoms water, and no more than five miles from the land, he was wholly taken up in getting the disabled ships off the shore, and could not ascertain the number of prizes; and, as the wind blew strong on the land, the fleet was scattered, and some of the Dutch ships that had formerly struck, were, on that account, enabled to effect their escape. The prizes consisted of eight ships of the line, two of 56 guns, and one of 44: the *Delft* of 56 guns foundered in sight of the British coast, and a frigate also was lost. It has been admitted on all hands, that a more sanguinary battle was never fought; for in nine ships of Admiral Duncan's fleet, the killed and wounded exceeded 700, and the loss sustained by the cold, but intrepid, Dutch, must have been very severe. The flag ships of the enemy lost not less than 250 men each; and it has been maintained, that not a single ship among the number of the prizes, lost less than 100 men. The battle was fought so near the shore that thousands of spectators be-



held the whole of it from first to last, without having it in their power to grant the smallest relief.

The gallantry of Admiral Duncan on this occasion is justly entitled to applause; but no part of his conduct is more deserving of commendation than his getting between the enemy and a lee-shore, or, in more intelligible language, between them and the land. This was a manœuvre which none who went before him, had ever attempted, in circumstances so manifestly critical. Had he not accomplished this object there is no reason to believe that he would have been victorious, even after Rear Admiral Story had, most ignominiously, deserted the gallant *De Winter*: it will at the same time be recorded to the honour of Admiral Duncan, that the exquisite judgment he discovered in freeing himself from his critical situation, was at least equal to the bold and intrepid spirit which could hazard such an experiment. When he returned home he was created Baron Duncan, of Lundie, in the county of Perth, and Viscount Duncan of Camperdown, from the place on the coast of Holland, off which his lordship gained the memorable victory. This glorious victory was of so much value to the British nation that every heart rejoiced when the news arrived; a general and most brilliant illumination took place throughout the kingdom, and a day of solemn thanksgiving was appointed, when the King, accompanied by all the public authorities, went in state to St. Paul's cathedral: the procession was attended by three waggons, bearing flags, that had been taken from the French, Spaniards, and Dutch, during the war, and these were severally borne to the altar by a flag-officer, who had been pre-

sent when they were taken. A great number of officers and seamen attended upon the occasion, and all ranks were sensible of the obligation they were under to the defenders of their country.

Provoked at their inability to do any real injury to England, the Directory could not help venting their anger in a sort of bulletin war, with a view to produce that kind of artificial mischief which arises out of a state of constant alarm: it would be endless to recite all their declarations of wrath and vengeance against this country; one specimen will be sufficient to characterize the whole. On the 26th of October, 1797, the Executive Directory decreed, that there should be assembled, without delay, on the coasts of the ocean, an army, which should be called The Army of England, to be under the command of Citizen General Buonaparté. On the same day the Directory issued a Proclamation addressed to the French people, which contains the following passages:

“It is at London that the calamities of Europe are fabricated; it is there that we must put an end to them.”——  
“Crown, at length, your exploits by an invasion of the Island, whither your ancestors carried slavery, under William the Conqueror, and bring back thither the Genius of Liberty, which must land there at the same moment with the French.”——“A lawless enemy has repelled, in fact, all the overtures which could alone tend to pacification. You know this enemy; your indignation fixes on and points him out by name—it is the cabinet of St. James’s—it is the most corrupting, and the most corrupted of the governments of Europe—it is the English government.”——  
“The Great Nation will avenge the universe; and, for that purpose, Frenchmen! more means than one present themselves to you: the most worthy, and the quickest, is a

descent upon England.”——“ Thus let the army of England go and dictate terms of peace in London ! Go, gallant Republicans ! second the unanimous wish of the nation ; go and restore the liberty of the seas.”——“ And since the British Government looks at this present moment with a ferocious smile on the calamities which have befallen the continent, and glories in its wealth, force it to pay its quota towards the expenses of the war.”——“ What a resplendent glory is held forth to the Army of England ; it is sufficient to point it out.”

The President of the Directory in a long address to General Buonaparté, avowed sentiments which deserve the particular notice of every Briton.

“ Peace,” said he, “ restores order ; but above all, it will procure us the inexpressible advantage of being able to consolidate the Republican Government, and to enable you to give a blow to the insolence of England, to the conquest of which you were called.”——“ Go then, Citizen General ! crown so glorious a life, by a conquest which the great nation owes to its insulted dignity.”——“ Let the conquerors of the Rhine, the Po, and the Tiber follow your steps—the ocean will be proud of conveying them. He is an untamed slave who blushes at his chains—he invokes by his roarings, the vengeance of the earth on the tyrant which oppresses his waves.—He will combat on your side—the elements themselves submit to the man who is free. Pompey did not disdain to crush the pirates : go ye, greater than that Roman ! and chain up that gigantic Buccaneer, who tyrannizes over the sea ; go, and punish, in London, outrages which have been too long unpunished.”

In order to give the proper stage effect to the whole of this farce, a deputation of the Merchants of Paris addressed the Directory in a style of ridiculous gasconade, perfectly in unison with the tinsel professions and promises of that government. The

Deputation was introduced by the Minister of Finance, who, in his speech, thus addressed the Directory :

“ After having secured the tranquillity of Europe, you have determined, since it seems decreed, that the French Republic shall only make peace with their enemies at their own capitals, to send to England those columns who have made victory the companion of their banners.”——“ The Merchants of Paris, in this determination, augur favourably to the liberty of the seas, and to the restoration of commerce : they are persuaded, that the moment is arrived to prove to an enemy, who always fly when closely pressed, that the French will terminate a war, prolonged only because a handful of pirates have the barbarism to calculate upon it as an event favourable to their interests.”——“ The traders of Paris come to request the Legislative Body to open a loan, of which the premium should be hypothecated upon our victories.”——“ The loan may be called an English loan.”

The Spokesman of the Deputation then delivered his address to the Directory, which contained the following expressions.

“ At the moment when the French nation prepares to encounter in the combat, her eternal and implacable enemy—Every man who carries a heart at once truly French and Republican, is seized with deep and animating enthusiasm.”——“ Ah ! it is in vain, that the English seek to hide themselves in their numerous ships : it is in vain that they hope to escape just punishment ; we will carry into the middle of their country that vengeance which they have inflicted on desolate provinces.”——“ Citizen Directors ! the Merchants of Paris, of whom we believe ourselves to be the organ, are anxious that you should transmit to the Executive Body a message, to invite them to open a loan, which will afford a sure and ready means to effectuate a descent upon England. This loan may be mortgaged upon an indirect imposition.”

The President, Barras, in a message, communicating this offer to the Council of Five Hundred, observed, that the fund of 40 millions to be raised in this manner, would be “secured on the success of the grand operation which the Directory is now preparing.” And, in the Council, Jean de Brie observed, that the standard of victory would soon “proceed to punish Albion for its long catalogue of crimes against humanity.”

If any Englishman should not feel his blood boil with indignation on the perusal of insults like these he is a disgrace to the memory of those gallant heroes who conquered in the fields of Cressy, Agincourt, and Poitiers: but, it is impossible, that such insolent menaces can fail to excite emotions of just resentment in the breasts of every Britain, and to inspire them with a consciousness, that they are as able and as willing as ever, to avenge the threats, and to punish the temerity of their audacious invaders.

In consequence of preliminaries, signed at Leoben, as already stated, a definitive treaty was signed between the Emperor and the French Republic on the 17th of October, at Campo Formio: by this treaty the Emperor gave up all claim to the Low Countries, which it was agreed should become a part of France, and to its possessions in Italy, which were to form a new political body, called by the French the Cisalpine Republic: in return for these cessions, and as a sort of compensation, Buonaparté gave to the Emperor the states lately known as the Republic of Venice, and which he had seized upon, in the French style, for the purpose of bartering away.

The power of France was now most clearly and firmly established, and nothing but the most consum-

mate folly on the part of her Rulers, or a degree of wisdom on the part of the old courts, superior to any they had yet evinced, could possibly deprive her of the Herculean staff, which she now held in her grasp. Many differences yet remained to be adjusted between France and the German Princes and states; and in order to settle these points, the treaty of Campo Formio provided, that a congress should be held at Raftadt, consisting of plenipotentiaries from the different powers. Upon the prudence and moderation of this Congress, much of the welfare of Europe depended, and temperate men looked up to it with much anxiety.



## CHAPTER XXI.

*Buonaparté returus to Paris.—It becomes the Fashion to admire him.—Gentlemen Democrats in England.—Fabricated Revolutionary Biography.—Works of Art obtained by the French in Italy.—Hatred between the English and French Governments increased by the Capture of Sir Sydney Smith.—Disputes relative to the French and English Prisoners.—Interesting Documents, and Correspondence thereon.*

WHEN Buonaparté had thus crowned his glorious struggles by an advantageous peace, his presence was no longer required in Italy, and he returned to Paris. On his arrival in the Capital he was greeted by the congratulations of every description of persons, in a manner the most flattering. Poets, painters, and sculptors, high and low, whether learned or ignorant, pious or profane, all exercised their ingenuity to display some excellent feature, either of the person or the mind of this extraordinary Hero, and among the various conceits that the lively imagination of his admirers hit upon, some even laid claim to the quality of oracular prophecies. The following Anagram, arising out of the French Revolution, expressed by the French words *Révolution Française*, was considered so perfectly of this kind, that it served to elevate our Adventurer astonishingly in the estimation of a weak and credulous people: it was thought a strong symptom of infidelity to doubt its being a

divine discovery, that, by cutting off the word *vets*, which being exercised by the King, had led on this terrible revolution, the remaining letters pointed to Buonaparté, as putting the last hand to it, *un Corse la finira*—"a Corsican will terminate it." The discovery is certainly ingenious; but, perhaps, in a land of free-thinking, one may venture to suggest, that a very small portion of divine criticism would have discovered in this oracle a trifling deviation from truth, which leaves it little above the production of a finite and unlettered mind. The *c* with the cedilla in Française, is not the *c* in corse, one taking the sound of *s*, the other of *k*. It is no matter; the French have too much good-nature and politeness to observe niceties of this sort; the General was in fashion, and who would be so rude as to tell the *beau-monde*, that it was mistaken! Buonaparté had done much for the country; and whoever they were that might have grounds of complaint against him, he had a strong claim to the gratitude of the French.

The manners of the General were precisely calculated to gain him the most useful sort of popularity. Ardently courted by all parties, he could easily select the most suitable confidants: these he chose on account of their prudence and policy, rather than for the violence of their sentiments. It is not true that the General was a Jacobin, or that he shewed any attachment to persons of that turbulent sect. Whether his name was ever enrolled among the members of that club is very doubtful, and if it was, it was only in that careless kind of way, whereby some persons in this country became Free Masons and Odd Fellows, without taking any interest in such societies.



The nearest character to that assumed by Buonaparté at the time of his arrival in Paris, in 1797, is that of the *Gentlemen Democrats* in England, who, carrying their views *no further* than the overthrow of the existing government, do not condescend to explain themselves to, or to mix with, their inferior brethren, any more than is necessary to keep them in good humour, in order to preserve them as tools, to be used as circumstances may require their services.

This temporizing policy on the part of Buonaparté was rather advantageous to France than otherwise: for, while he declined taking any measures offensive to either of the factions, they were each kept quiet from a fear of making him an enemy by any premature effort. He would, however, have gained very little influence over the public mind, if his character or conduct had been any thing like what it has been depicted in those unprincipled fabrications published to the world, under the titles of "*REVOLUTIONARY LIVES, SECRETS OF CABINETS,*" &c. The respect he acquired, arose out of the punctuality with which he attended to all his private as well as public duties, and which rendered a reproof from him of so much weight, that every conspicuous person became habitually desirous of avoiding it. Those who think they can promote the interests of virtue and humanity by the propagation of groundless calumnies have formed a very wrong notion of mankind: it is a misfortune for the English, that the French nation, with this great Chieftain at their head, are their enemies, and certainly, as it relates to commerce, unjustly and imprudently so; but, before any Englishman complains of this in-

proper enmity, let him ask himself what friendship can be held with a people, who pretend to publish the secrets of the closet and the bed-chamber, for the avowed purpose of displaying the secret vices of a *whole* family, which common observation could not have discerned.

Buonaparté, as well as his family in general, have more good qualities than bad ones, and their bad ones are infinitely less vicious than those of some families equally conspicuous, from whom much better things might have been expected: it is true, that the conduct of the General had little of that ceremonious politeness in it which is so highly prized by the admirers of the old courts, and the frankness of his manners, often led him to censure persons less attentive to their duties than he was to his own, which lax characters, construed into rudeness. The principal difference between Buonaparté and his calumniators, is, that he bluntly declares his opinion without regard to consequences, whereas they never speak what they think, till they have looked round to see how their opinions will be approved by the persons, to whose judgments they have surrendered their own. No persons were more sincere in their devotion to the General than the men of science and literature: his victories had enriched the Museum of Paris, with the principal curiosities of the ancient and modern world, and that capital had now become the emporium of all that was rare and valuable in the world of taste and science.

Shortly after his arrival, the General was presented with the following List of the Chefs'd'œuvres, and celebrated Curiosities, which the victories of the Republican armies have procured to France.

## SCULPTURE.

The Apollo, the Meleager, the Torso, the Antinöus, *of the Vatican*, the Adonis, the Hercules Commodus, the Apollo and the Muses, the Quoit-player, a Faun playing on the flute, the Torso of Cupid, the Paris, the Zeno, another Quoit-player, the Julius Cæsar, the Augustus, the Tiberius *togatus*, the Adrian, the Phocion, the Demosthenes, the Sardanapalus, the Sextus Hippericus, the Antinöus, *of the Capitol*, the Melpomene, the Urania, the Venus, the Juno, the Flora, the Ariadne, the Vestal, a little Ceres, the Amazon, the Minerva, the Health, another Urania, the Terpsichore, the Polyhymnia, another Melpomene, the Thalia, the Clio, the Calliope, the Euterpe, the Erato, the Trajan, the Posidippus, the Menander, the Shepherd *extracting a thorn from his foot*, the dying Gladiator, the crouching Venus, the Cleopatra, the Laocoon, the Love and Psyche, the Jupiter, the Homer, the Alexander, the Jupiter Serapis, the Menelaus, the Junius Brutus, the Marcus Brutus, the Oceanus, the Cato and Porcia, the two Sphinxes, the three Chandeliers, the three Altars, the Tomb of the Muses, the Tiber, and several other *morceaux*.

## PAINTINGS.

BY RAPHAEL.

The Transfiguration, the Assumption, the Crowning of the Virgin, the Virgin, the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Magi, the Baptism of Jesus Christ, Faith, Hope, and Charity, and the Resurrection.

BY P. PERUGINO.

The Resurrection, the Holy Family, St. Augustin and the Virgin, the Marriage of the Virgin, the Virgin and Saints of Pérouse, the Prophets, St. Benedict, St. Placida, St. Scholastica, the Deity, St. Sebastian, St. Augustin, St. Bartholomew, St. Paul, St. John, the Virgin, the taking down from the cross, A Virgin.

BY GUERCINO.

The Circumcision, St. Petronilla, and St. Thomas.

BY DOMINICHINO.

St. Jerome, and the Martyrdom of St. Agnes.

BY CARAVAGGIO.

The Descent from the Cross.

BY ANNIBAL CARRACHE.

Piety, and the Nativity.

BY ANDREA SACCHI.

St. Romuald, and a Miracle.

BY ALFANI.

A Virgin, and St. Francis.

BY GUIDO.

Fortune, and the Martyrdom of St. Peter.

BY GABALO.

The Virgin.

BY POUSSIN.

The Martyrdom of St. Erasmus.

BY VALENTIN.

The Martyrdom of St. Gervais.

BY CORREGIO.

The Virgin and St. Jerome, and the Virgin with a porringer.

BY TITIAN.

The Crowning.

BY PROCACCINI.

St. Sebastian.

*Articles for the Museum of Natural History.*

The Herbal of Haller.

The Collection of Volcanic Substances, by Spallanzani.

The Minerals of P. Pini at Milan,

The Minerals of the Institute of Bologna.

The Herbal of Aldrovandus, in 16 vols.

The Collection of Marbles\* and Precious Stones of the Institute of Bologna.

The Manuscript Figures of Aldrovandus in 17 vols.

Needles of rock-crystal.

Beside these, a very large collection of curiosities and paintings were to be received from Venice, and the celebrated Gallery of Modena. The following articles were destined for the National Library.

Manuscripts from the Ambrosian Library and that of Brera.

Manuscripts from the Abbey of St. Salvador of Bologna.

The Donations made to the church of Ravenna on *papyrus*, in 490 and 491.

A manuscript of Josephus's Antiquities on *papyrus*.

A manuscript History of the Popes,

A manuscript Virgil, which belonged to Petrarch, with notes in his hand-writing.

Manuscripts on the flux and reflux, and on fortifications, in the hand-writing of Galileo.

Cartoon of the works of Leonardo da Vinci.

Twelve manuscripts of da Vinci on the Sciences.

Anatomical tables of Haller, with additions and corrections in his hand-writing.

Ancient editions of books from the Ambrosian Library, and the libraries of the Institute of Bologna, the Abbey of St. Salvador, and the University of Pavia.

Five hundred manuscripts from the Library of the Vatican.

The opening of the year 1798, found France at peace with all the powers on the continent, and, her hostile attempts, directed alone to Great Britain, ex-

cept in the single instance of Ehrenbreitstein, a German fortress, which was continued in a state of blockade till its fate should be decided upon by the negotiation carrying on at Rastadt.

Seldom has rancour been more malevolent than that which preserved the hatred of the French and English Governments towards each other, and it was now discovered to be more mischievous in its effects than furnishing mere newspaper and proclamation gasconade. An English Captain, Sir W. Sidney Smith, had been taken prisoner on the coast of France, close in-shore, attempting to cut out a French ship. This officer the British Government were desirous of exchanging, but the French Government took this to be a fair opportunity of vexing and irritating their antagonists; and, therefore, with all the little-mindedness that formed the characters of the "Five Men," they set up a pretence that Sir Sidney could not be regarded as an ordinary prisoner of war, and therefore should not be admitted into the ordinary exchanges. Not a doubt remained upon the mind of the Directory but that this was an act of injustice, and therefore its political conscience directly apprehended, that the English Government would take revenge, by ill-treating the French prisoners here. As a sinner, who, expecting every transgression to be followed by storms of thunder and lightning, keeps constantly watching the clouds, so was the anxious eye of the Directory constantly upon the motions of the English Administration: their Agent was ordered to keep a vigilant look-out, and, failing to complain, exposed him to be suspected of neglect of duty. M. Charette was far from a bad man, and by no means habitually

querulous: he was allowed constant access to his unfortunate countrymen, and received every information, relative to their habitations and supplies, as often as he wished; he was, in general, satisfied, and no ground of complaint ever arose, that, when stated, the Government did not immediately correct to his satisfaction. It was, however, discovered, that, at Falmouth, the Contractor had given way to his cupidity, and supplied the prisoners with bread far inferior to what Government agreed and paid for, a circumstance that served to buoy up the sinking reputation of M. Charetié, by furnishing him with a tale, to send over to his government, and of which the Directory made the most uncandid and ungenerous use. As soon as the conduct of the Contractor was represented to the Transport Board, to whose care the prisoners were confided, he was punished, and means were taken to prevent a repetition of the same fraud; yet the Directory trumpeted the story forth in France, in their gazettes and placards, for the purpose of justifying the wretched manner in which they had treated the English prisoners, even before they had any such excuse to make. A Frenchman, on arriving at Nantes, from an English prison, saw it posted against the walls, that in England the French prisoners were fed upon dead dogs and cats, and were sometimes brought out, in great numbers, and shot for the amusement of the people: he hastened to declare that the whole was false, and that he had been treated with extreme kindness; but he was told that he had better be silent, and not dare to contradict the Government. As the French sent an agent to superintend their prisoners in England, so the British Government appointed Mr. Swinburne,

agent to attend to the affairs of their prisoners in France; but it will hardly be thought creditable to the Directory, that Mr. Swinburne was not allowed access to the prisons, nor to receive any information concerning them *directly*, but such as the French Commissaries themselves chose to give. The reason of this mysterious caution arose from a conviction on the part of the French Government, that its conduct would not bear examining, as the following communications may serve to prove.

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. J. Christian, Dunkirk, to Mr. Swinburne, at Paris.*

“ My clerk, whom I sent to Arras, as already advised, stopped a day there, and another at Air, to visit the prisons in both these places, and to get the best account he could, for the time, of prisoners, of which you have lists inclosed.—Those in the hospital at Arras are, he tells me, taken pretty good care of; but those in the hospital at Air, in the most miserable condition, dying daily, from the filth and stench of a dirty small room, where above 40 sick are pent up with the English prisoners, and who must all soon make their exit, if not taken better care of, or removed to a larger or more airy room; and my young man says, the stench was so horrid, that, if he had remained there half an hour, it would have killed him; he could not even stay there to make out his list, but was obliged to leave it to one of the prisoners to finish; so that you should not lose an hour in applying to your Board of Commissioners, to order the Commissary of Marine at Air to have them relieved; you may tell them, that you are informed of *their most miserable state*, without saying more.



The gaoler should have directions to allow such of them to go out as are able, of which I fear there are not a great many, to air themselves for an hour or two every forenoon; and, perhaps, an hour in the afternoon, though doubly guarded, if he thought proper; and, when they are out of the room, two or three of the most healthy may be employed in taking out the filth, sweeping, opening the windows, and fumigating the room with rosin, brimstone, or cork-wood shavings, sprinkling it with vinegar, and washing the walls with it, and have a bottle of it every day to dip a rag in, to bathe their nostrils and temples; and have a large allowance of clean straw, at least once a week, besides having the floor laid over with dry sand, an inch or two, once a week, which would imbibe the damp and foul air; and the prisoners, for their own preservation, should spare no pains in keeping themselves and their room clean, as it is for want of this they are so subject to gaol and pestilential fevers."

At a Committee appointed by the English Government to enquire into the treatment of Prisoners of War, Mr. John Hopkins Radford, Surgeon upon the staff, attending, was examined, and said,

I was taken in the Elizabeth victualler, in my passage to the West Indies, and carried into L'Orient; I arrived there on the 8th of December, 1797, and was allowed my parole until the 21st, upon which day I was sent into close confinement: four, besides myself, were sent into confinement the same day, and, in a room adjoining, were four others; our allowance at that place was about a quarter of a pound of coarse meat, and about a pound of coarse bread,

and water. On the 26th we began our march for Pontanezan prison, about 110 in number; on the road we were allowed no carriage for our baggage; but as there were several men sick, on the second day of our march, there was one small cart allowed by the agent for the sick, which was continued during the march, being about 100 miles, which lasted until the 1st of January: the men on the road on one of the nights slept in an old church, on another, in a stable, knee deep in muck, and the other nights in prisons and in old houses. On the third night the gaoler stole one-third of the men's bread, and sold it to them the next morning; the two following nights the men had no provisions at all, owing, as the officer informed us, to the Commissary mistaking the route; nor was there bread enough in the small towns to purchase for them, consequently several of them had no victuals for forty-eight hours.

The Pontanezan prison was a quarter of a mile square; it has six buildings, about 200 yards in length, and eight yards wide, built for a French hospital, and contained seven tier of hammocks. In one prison 1000 prisoners were confined; in half of another 130, including women and children. One of the buildings was appointed for an hospital, galley slaves were in another: there were windows on both sides, and about 100 men allowed at a time to go into the yard in fine weather; the situation was dry: there were two surgeons and two apothecaries, but very little medicines; in general there was no distinction between the officers and the common people, but the surgeons, women, and passengers, were, by the indulgence of the Commissary, kept apart, and had better allowance. The allowance of provisions at

Pontanezan prison was about a pound of coarse bread, without any bran, taken from the wheat, and a piece of pork, or beef, for seven men. This witness produced to the Committee a piece of pork, which was delivered out at that prison for the day's mess for seven men, and which then proved to be of the weight of 19 ounces and an half, but without the bone, 14 ounces and three quarters; in the afternoon, about four o'clock, they had a soup of horse beans one day, and calivances the other day, they were boiled in salt and oil. At this time provisions in the country were plentiful and cheap—fresh beef 3d. 3½d. and 4d. a pound—mutton the same—game plentiful—a hare 15 sous—a partridge and a woodcock for a livre—fish cheap.

At the same Committee, Captain James Colnett of his Majesty's frigate *Huffar*, said his ship was wrecked on the coast of France on the 24th of December, 1796; and he continued, "After we escaped from the wreck, and surrendered ourselves to the military, we were pillaged by them of every thing, but what was on our backs. We were five days on our march to Brest, on foot, during which time we had only a small quantity of bread given us one day, no other lodging than wet straw, in a church, was procured for us, unless we could pay for it. After our arrival at Brest we were confined in the common gaol at Pontanezan; for the first two days fed with nothing but the common prisoners rations, which were parts of a bullock cut up by the lump, liver, lights, offal, and part of the horn, with the jaw. After being let out of the common gaol, a larger quantity of provisions was allowed the officers, but of the same quality: after remaining some time at

Pontanezan, where a very small part of my effects was returned me, we were forced to go on parole a hundred miles from Brest to Pontavie, and were obliged to pay our own expences, as well as those of the soldiers who had the care of us. The whole time of our stay at Pontavie we had no more than the French common soldier's rations, and even the worst part of the meat, and no wood to cook the victuals. When our release was ordered, we were marched back in the same way, paying our own expences; but, finally, some wood was procured, for which we signed receipts. On my arrival at Brest, I complained to the Marine Minister there of the treatment I had met with in the country, and he told me, that he believed me, but that it was not in his power to remedy it, or he would. My second lieutenant then went to the Minister, who gave him a certificate of his having only received soldiers rations, and desired him to apply to the French Commissary in London for the deficiency. The allowance of provisions was shortened in the hospital, not only for the sick, but even the lame; and, in lieu of meat, a little four wine was given. I observed two wells in the prison, blocked up; and on enquiring the reason of it, was told, that in Robespierre's time, the water had been poisoned by his order, and the nuns, who had the care of the hospital, were ordered to give it to the sick, by which many were poisoned. Some of the nuns, who refused to do so, were put in a dungeon, under ground, for nine months.

At the same Committee, Mr. Jean Charetié, the French Agent, attending, according to order, was asked to

State to the Committee in what particular character you reside in this country?—Commissary from

the Executive Directory, for the exchange of prisoners of war, charged with a project of cartel, and the general superintendence of prisoners.

At what time did your commission commence?—  
In December, 1795.

How long did you continue in that situation?—  
About two years and a half.

Has Mr. Charretié any objection to state to the Committee, distinctly, his particular observations on the treatment of the prisoners in that period, in the prisons and hospitals of England?—I will give a faithful account; I have always done justice to the good intentions of the British Government with respect to the prisoners; I have never complained, but of abuses; I knew perfectly well the ratios which the British Government distributed to each man, as well as the price which they gave the contractors. In my different visitations made to the prisons, I have ascertained that the quality of the provisions was not equal to the price paid for them by government.

Do you mean to say that it was universally so?—  
At Portchester and Plymouth it was better than at Falmouth; the agent at Falmouth entered the prison only once a week. The French prisoners, to the number of between eight and nine hundred, were entirely under the custody of the goalers; and the different contractors of beer, meat, and bread, distributed provisions at least 80 per cent. below the price paid them by Government. The bread was made with bad corn, mixed with chaff, and was not eatable. I was at Falmouth in July 1797; I wrote, at the beginning of August, to complain to the Trans-

port Board: the board was astonished at my complaint, and told me, in conference, that one of them (Mr. Searle) had been to inspect those prisons about the end of June, and had made a favourable report of them, which put me under the necessity of persevering in my complaint. This induced the Board to send Captain Lane to certify the complaint, and see if it was founded; and he knew, confidentially, that, by going privately to the two prisons, the truth of the complaint was established. In November, 1795, when I first took charge of the prisoners, I visited Portsmouth, and the prisons in the neighbourhood. I found Dr. Johnson, of the Sick and Hurt Board, who went round the different prisons with me, and I had the satisfaction of finding that all the provisions were of the best kind, and no complaint from any of the prisoners, and the hospital at Forton in good order; but in June 1797, I went down to attend the exchange of some prisoners, and there found, that, in consequence of information received by the British Government of an insurrection in the prison at Portchester, the market was stopped, during which time great advantage was taken by the turnkeys, to sell, clandestinely, bread and milk at exorbitant prices; when the prisoners complained, the soldiers stopped their complaints by threatening them with the bayonet; and, upon my going into the prison, with Captain Rawe, a Mr. Peltier, and several other French officers, bitterly complained to me of their treatment, Captain Rawe told Mr. Peltier, that he was there every day, and was astonished at his not having complained before. At that time the prisoners were treated severely; on account of the

police, necessary, as I believe, to be kept in the prison during the mutiny of the British fleet.

Does Mr. Charretié mean, by being treated severely, closely confined?—No; but Government had information that the mutineers meant to put arms into the hands of the prisoners, to kill their guards, and, therefore, they were more exact in their discipline.

Did you visit any other prison?—I went to Plymouth in July, 1797; in general, the prisoners complained of their provisions and their quality, but Captains Schank and Lane soon redressed that complaint, and nothing of what I had observed at Portchester took place; the prisoners were quiet.

As they were quiet in Plymouth prison did you observe any particular severity?—No.

You attribute then the severity at Portchester to the insurrection?—Yes: from thence I went to Falmouth, where I saw what I have given in evidence.

Was the complaint made against the Agent at Falmouth redressed?—Not that I know of. From thence I went to Bristol, and found the same spirit of complaint on account of the provisions; I could not find the Agent, who was not on the spot, and one prisoner was sent to the black-hole, for having refused a cabbage not cleared of its stalk: he was sent there by a clerk, who, I heard, had a share in the contract for provisions. I complained to the Transport Board of that clerk, as being disagreeable to the prisoners: this clerk presided at the distribution of all the provisions; I have heard no complaints of him from the prison since that time. Neither before nor since have I visited any of the prisons.

Was there not a Select Committee of prisoners to inspect the provisions?—There was, but I suppose *they were corrupted*.

What was their number, and how chosen?—I suppose about twelve, *chosen by themselves*;—but I do not speak to the fact, *nor have I any particular reason for saying that they are corrupted, than that it is the nature of man*.

As Mr. Charretié stated to the Committee, that he did not consider it his department to inspect the provisions, how came he to be so particular in reporting the badness of provisions at Falmouth?—Because I came at the time when the provisions were brought to the gate ready for delivery, and the prisoners would not receive them.

Was it butchers meat or bread?—Bread and cheese.

Did you see any of the meat?—No, I did not.

How does Mr. Charretié reconcile his not having seen meat at the gate, to the assertion, in his letter addressed to the Transport Board, that it was 80 per cent. below its value?—The meat, as well as the beer, was shewn me in the prison.

Were the provisions you saw at the gate distributed?—No, I objected to the Contractor, and he took back the provisions, as I understood, and supplied others.

When you complained at Plymouth of the provisions, what species was it you objected to, the beef, or the bread?—The bread.

Did you take any steps to obtain the quality of the provisions you complained of to be altered for the better?—Yes, several times, I mentioned it in conferences with some of the Transport Board.



Do you believe, in consequence, that measures were taken by them to prevent these abuses?—Yes, I have no doubt of it.

As you did not seem to think it was your duty to inspect particularly into the state of the provisions, how came it that you were so circumstantial in the assertion on the quality of the provisions?—I observed it to be so from specimens that were brought to me.

Is it your opinion that the Commissioners of the Transport Board did every thing in their power to cause the provisions supplied to the prisoners to be equal in goodness to the contract prices?—I have not the least doubt of it, and all that I have complained of were abuses of some of the Contractors.

Previous to your representation to the French Government of the situation of the prisoners at Norman Cross, did you complain to the Commissioners of the Transport Board?—No, I was at Bath at the time, and made it from letters I received from prisoners at that place, and intended, when I came to London, to represent the same to the Transport Board in a conference. Soon after I had reason to alter my opinion, and I therefore took the first opportunity to acquaint the French Government what I learned the real state of the prisoners to be.

What was the interval of time between your first representation and your informing the French Government that you had been misinformed?—I cannot remember—perhaps two or three weeks.

Don't you think it unfortunate, that you was so hasty in making such an impression without taking

some measures to have informed yourself of the real state of the fact, which might have been obtained from the Transport Board?—*I think it was.*

Have you had opportunities of knowing what numbers of prisoners were in each prison at any time?—Yes, the Transport Board furnished me with lists, whenever I required it.

Then what was the cause of your informing the French Government, that there were 9,000 prisoners at Norman Cross, when it appears their numbers were only 5,000?—Because the number of prisoners increased frequently, as fresh prisoners were coming from Ireland.

The following is a copy of the Letter above alluded to, to the Minister of Marine at Paris.

29th Brumaire, 6th Year (or 19th November, 1797.)

“CITIZEN MINISTER,

“I make a separate answer to the question, stated in the last paragraph of your Letter, No. 14, of the 11th Brumaire, directing me to continue to console our unfortunate countrymen, and to renew to them the confirmation of your constant solicitude for their fate; informing me, at the same time, that 60,000 livres have been remitted to me on account, and that a sum sufficient to defray the first expenses of clothing, &c. would be placed at my disposal.

“Consolation, Citizen Minister, might be felt by the unfortunate prisoners, if their wants and misery had not reached their height, and if assistance could reach them in time to give foundation to their hopes: but, Citizen Minister, after all that I have said to them; after all that I have had the honour of writ-

ing to you concerning that horrible situation, and that in which I myself am placed, without resources, at the mercy of a crowd of creditors, scarcely able to find the means of providing for my own subsistence, what would you have me say more, when I see clearly that you are deceived with respect to the measures which you take in regard to them? 50,000 livres have long since been announced to me by your office; you now make mention of 60,000 livres, but I have no intelligence of the arrival of the first farthing of either of those sums: if promises remain unexecuted, with respect to such sacred and necessary objects, in a service which I can no longer continue, when shall I see those realized which relate to the providing of funds for the clothing of the prisoners?—Those unfortunate people may meet with violent and painful deaths before they can be relieved; and if, out of about 9,000, now confined at Norman Cross, near 3,000 sick for want of clothing, and an increase of diet, are already at the eve of perishing, what will be the case some time hence? and upon whom will the responsibility fall for so many thousand victims? My correspondence will justify me in the eyes of my country.

“ My soul is so oppressed that I cannot add to this melancholy description; torn and afflicted as your’s must be in considering it, you will easily imagine all the horrors of such a situation: it is now too late, and those succours, I have so long expected, will never arrive in time, even should you, by setting aside every other matter, attend only to ordering and remitting, without losing a day, an hour, even a minute, the funds necessary for saving them from certain death.

“ However expeditious you may be, Citizen Minister, all you can hope for is, to save the remains, whom strength of constitution may have kept longer alive. What then would be the case if the English Government should order the measure of driving them all into the horrid abyfs of prisons, and of reducing their allowance to half ratio, to be put in execution ?

“ Nothing in the world can be more dreadful, nothing more serious for the government !

.JEAN CHARRETTE.”

Which seems to be very fully refuted by the following Documents :

Copy of an Affidavit, made by Mr. James Perrot, Agent for Prisoners of War at Norman Cross :—  
Peterborough, December 15th 1797.

These are to certify, that James Perrot, Agent for Prisoners of War at Norman Cross, voluntarily maketh oath, That to the best of his knowledge and belief, the certificate and affidavits given by Dr. Higgins, Physician, Mr. James Magennis, Surgeon, and Messrs. Chatelin and Savary, the French Assistant Surgeons to the hospital at Norman Cross prisons, are strictly true, and corresponding with the accounts daily brought to him ; and that the number of patients in the said hospital, on the 19th day of November last, was 194, including 24 nurses ; and the whole number of prisoners, including the sick, who were on that day confined in the said prisons, 5,028, and, from the first establishment, never exceeded 5,178, and that, to the present date, only 59 have died in the said hospital ; and further, to the best of his knowledge, neither contagious or epi-

demic disorders have ever prevailed in the said hospital or prisons.

J. PERROT, Agent.

Given under my hand at Peterborough, this 15th day of December, 1797.

H. FREEMAN.

Copy of an Affidavit made by the Physician and Surgeon at Norman Cross Prison:—Dated Peterborough, 15th of December, 1797.

We, the undersigned, do, voluntarily, certify, upon oath, That the number of sick in the hospital under our care at Norman Cross, on the 19th of November last, was 194, including 24 nurses; that the daily number from the 7th of August was always less; and that at no one period, since the commencement of the establishment, did the actual number exceed 260; that the prisons are systematically visited, and searched every morning by the surgeon, or his assistants; and that every prisoner having feverish symptoms, however slight, is immediately removed to the hospital.

We do further testify, that there was no epidemic disease or contagious fever amongst the prisoners.

JAMES HIGGINS, M. D.

Physician to prisoners of war.

JAMES MAGENNIS,

Surgeon to the prisoners of war there.

Sworn before me at Peterborough, this 15th day of December, 1797.

(Signed) H. FREEMAN.

Certificate of the French Surgeons at Norman Cross Prison:—Dated 15th December, 1797.

We, the undersigned French Surgeons, prisoners of war at Norman Cross, do voluntarily certify,

That the number of prisoners in the hospital at Norman Cross, on the 19th November last, was 184, including 24 men, employed as nurses; that this number has not been more considerable since the 7th of August, and that the prisoners are visited every morning by the chief surgeons, or their assistants; that whenever the prisoners are sent to the hospital they are admitted, whether their disorders are slight or violent, and, while there, that they are treated with humanity and attention, and provided with every thing necessary for the re-establishment of their health. We also certify, that there has not been any epidemical or contagious distemper amongst them.

SAVARY, Surgeon of the Hardy.

CHATELAINE, Surgeon Major of  
the Ville de l'Orient.

Sworn before me at Peterborough, this 15th December, 1797.

H. FREEMAN.

Much time had been wasted in these disputes, and no progress had been made towards the liberation of Sir Sidney Smith; and, as there was no hope of the Directory being disposed to encrease the comforts of the English prisoners, the British Government proposed that each country should take upon itself the charge of maintaining and clothing its own prisoners, at the same time declaring, that, unless their Agent were allowed to visit his countrymen, that privilege should be taken away from the French Agents in England, and the Directory, in consequence, passed the following Decree.

EQUALITY!

LIBERTY!

Extract from the Registers of the Deliberations of the Executive Directory:—Paris, the 19th Frimaire, 6th year of the Republic.

The Executive Directory, on the Report which has been made to them by the Minister of Marine and Colonies, reporting the disposition of the English Government relatively to a projet of a general cartel for an exchange of prisoners of war:—  
Decree :

Article I. That Captain James Cotes, to whom a passport has been dispatched, allowing him to come to France in the character of Agent for the English prisoners of war, shall receive, on his arrival, the same accommodations and facilities, which the French Commissary shall enjoy in London, in the discharge of his duties.

Article II. Immediately on the arrival of this Agent, the Commissioners for Exchanges shall treat with him on the subject of a general cartel, conformably to the basis of the preliminary convention, dated the 29th Pluviose, 5th year (17th February 1797) settled between the respective Commissaries of both nations.

Article III. Agreeably to the proposition made by the British Government, That the respective Agents shall be charged with all the expenses relating to the prisoners of war of both nations, the Minister of Marine and Colonies is authorized to issue orders to the Agents of the French Republic at London, for furnishing clothing, as well as victualling and medicines, for the French prisoners of war in England.

Article IV. At the arrival of the British Agent,

it shall be notified to him, that the same regulation shall be followed with regard to all the prisoners of war of his nation, the maintenance of whom shall be at the expense of the British Government, and this expense to be computed from the day that the Agent of the Republic shall take upon him the expense of the like service in England.

The Minister of Marine and Colonies is charged with the execution of the present Decree, which shall not be printed. To be carried into immediate effect.

(Signed) P. BARRAS.

President of the Executive Directory,

By order of the Executive Directory.

A true copy, (Signed) LA GARDE.

(Signed) PLEVILLE LA PELLY.

A true copy, (Signed) JN. CHARETIE.

Notwithstanding the solemn formality of this Decree, the Directory did not consider itself pledged to fulfil its conditions: the English Agent could not obtain a passport to visit the prisons; and it was soon found that the English prisoners could be starved at a less expense than the French prisoners could be kept; so that the French Government reversed this decree, and resolved that each power should maintain the prisoners it held in custody. In this evasive manner did the Directory sport with the feelings of the unfortunate victims of the war, whilst its decrees were full of pretensions to humanity! and there can be little doubt, but, at this day, the public opinion will be in exact unison with that of the Parliamentary Committee, who, having gone through the different heads of their Inquiry,

*Resolved.*—1. That the charge of cruelty towards



French prisoners of war, which has been brought against this country, is utterly void of foundation; and appears to have been fabricated, and industriously supported by the enemy, for the double purpose, of justifying their own ill treatment of British prisoners, and of irritating the minds of their countrymen against this nation.

II. That the British prisoners of war confined in France, have been treated with a degree of rigour and inhumanity unwarranted by the usages of war among civilized nations.

III. That the British Government has always manifested a desire of entering upon a cartel of exchange on the most fair and liberal terms; that it has even offered to accede to any which could be adopted, consistently with what is due to individuals and to the nation; and that the obstacles to a negotiation have arisen from the extravagant and unprecedented demands of France; and from the refusal, on our part, to abandon the customary and acknowledged principle of the law of nations, which has been grossly violated in the person of Sir Sidney Smith.

Those who entertain any doubt upon this subject, will do well to consult the Report at large, which enters into a general detail: but it may not be too much to observe in this place, that the Directory knew, when it pressed the proposal for a general exchange of prisoners, that it threw an obstacle in the way, which exonerated the English Government from all blame, on account of the cartel being delayed: it was insisted upon that the British should give up all claim to the number of prisoners that they had a right to demand in exchange for Frenchmen liberated on pa-

role, amounting to 7,019, and also give up 4,000 more, above what they expected to receive any exchange for, before they should have a right to exchange Sir Sidney Smith for an officer of equal rank.

The art of driving these Jew bargains was what that peddling government called diplomatic skill, and, it is to be feared, that it may be some time before the world will be guided by that pure virtue, which will be sufficient to despise and reject the advantages gained by such successful cunning: it will be somewhat anticipating, but it will certainly please many readers, to tell them, that it was unsuccessful in this case; for some English residents in Holland contrived to find out the price of a person near to Sir Sidney (for in France, if it is true any where, "every man has his price") and, by means of a sufficient supply of money, these *Dutchified English* outwitted the *Mosaic Directory*, and enabled both Sir Sidney, and his guard, to escape from the danger of his pursuers.



## CHAPTER XXII.

*Invasion of Switzerland by the French.—Conjectures of the English Government relative to the Invasion of Ireland.—Arrests on the Coast—at Manchester—in London.*

WHILST the Directory carried on this vexatious contest with the English Government, it entered upon one, equally unjust, on the continent. The design of interfering in the affairs of all other governments, had been evinced by the Directory, as strongly as by Buonaparté, in the case of St. Marino; but the Government of Switzerland had, hitherto, rejected any kind of assistance, and sturdily resolved to remain independent, as well of friends as of foes. The subjugation of that country had been long premeditated by the Executive Directory, and the period of its accomplishment was only protracted by the influence of Carnot and Barthelemy, which was a principal reason why those members were marked out for banishment. To subvert the government of Switzerland, was a direct violation of the treaty of 1792; but an insurrection in the Pays-de-Vaud, was raised, by French principles and French bribery, to justify entering the country with an armed force, under pretence of aiding the people to obtain their freedom, and *purify* their government. General Schauenburg, at the head of 15,000 men, was commanded to march towards that country, with a view to support the claims of the petitioners in the Pays-de-Vaud at the point of the bayonet. A proclamation was issued by the Supreme Council of Berne, requesting the people of the Pays-de-Vaud to assem-

ble, in arms, to repeat afresh their oath of allegiance, to accomplish, without loss of time, a radical reform of the government, and not only to contend for their ancient rights, but labour for their re-establishment to the utmost of their power. As the claims of the insurgents were not promptly attended to, a serious insurrection was the immediate consequence. The insurgents got possession of the fort of Chillon, and disturbances, equally serious, appeared in the Southern districts: it now seemed necessary to the Government of Berne, to bring the insurgents to a sense of their duty by force of arms, for which purpose General Weifs was sent against them, at the head of 20,000 men. Whether the tardy movements of this general resulted from design or not, we pretend not to determine, yet, certain it is, that they served to confirm the disaffected in their resolutions of perseverance; and the arrival of the French general, at this critical juncture, decided the fate of the country. The French General had no sooner passed the boundaries, than he sent an officer to the Swiss commanders, accompanied by two hussars, to Yverdun, but, on his return, one of the hussars was killed at Thiriens. While we are incapable of determining who were the aggressors, it is certain, that Schauenburg considered this as tantamount to a declaration of war, and, accordingly, his troops immediately marched forward, while those of General Weifs commenced a retreat, which placed the whole Pays-de-Vaud in the hands of the French during the month of February. Still, however, the Government of Berne entertained some hopes of averting the impending destruction; and, in order to accomplish this important object, they delivered up the

centinels, by whom the hussar had been killed, and entered into fresh negotiations. But it now appeared impossible to prevent a war with France, although the Government did every thing in its power to rouse the people to contribute their assistance: it was enacted that fifty-two deputies should be added to the council, and these selected from the chief towns and communes, who proposed a radical reform of abuses in the existing government; which laudable example was imitated by Fribourg, Lucerne, Soleure, Zurich, and Schaffhausen. In this delicate situation of affairs, they continued to negotiate with the Executive Directory of France, but, at the same time, continued a force of 20,000 men, under the command of a General d'Erlach, the rest of the cantons of Switzerland contributing to the general defence; and furnishing about 5,500 men. An armistice was concluded with Schauenberg in the Pays-de-Vaud, when General Brune advanced to his assistance, and fresh troops from France entered Switzerland. The truce was to have expired on the 1st of March, but General d'Erlach demanded, in a peremptory manner, that his troops should be put in motion on the 26th of February, being extremely apprehensive that their ardour would cool. This order was instantly complied with by a decree of the Council, and the different posts were informed that hostilities would commence on the 1st of March.

M. Mallet du Pan informs us, that General Brune agreed to protract the armistice, or truce, for the space of 30 hours; and that on the 2d of March, the castle of Dornach, situated on the Northern extremity of the Canton of Soleure, four miles and a half

South of Basle, was attacked and carried by the Republicans, when 13,000 men proceeded to the very walls of that town, which, at the first summons, surrendered to General Schauenburg. The fate of Fribourg soon followed, submitting to the authority of General Brune, when the army of Switzerland was under the necessity of retreating. The rapid advances of the French army were powerfully seconded by a spirit of disaffection too apparent in the army of General d'Erlach, and a proclamation was made by the Council of Berne, that the levy of the *Landsturm* (rising in a mass) was ready for action; but it was a measure which, in Switzerland, was productive of pernicious effects. When possessed of arms the people soon effected the dissolution of their own Government, established a *pro tempore* regency, signified their proceedings to General Brune, and ordered the army to be dismissed, on condition that the French troops would not advance beyond their present positions. These concessions, however, did not meet the views of the Republican commander; for he demanded that the town should be garrisoned by the soldiers of France. An alarming mutiny broke out in the army of Switzerland, the left wing of which put to death a number of their officers, who were unfriendly to their views: it appears, from authentic documents, that no fewer than 11,500 men had abandoned this army. About 8,000 of the regular troops were stationed at Newenegg, while 6,400 maintained their station at Frauenbron, to carry which, General Schauenburg marched from Soleure with 18,000 men. Both these posts were attacked by the French on the 5th of March, in the morning, when the glorious resistance of the Swiss troops, stationed



*General Brune.*

*Pub. by M. J. & J. J. J. J.*





at Neweneg, seemed to portend a future victory ; but those who were posted at Franenbron, were under the necessity of retreating. General d'Erlach succeeded in rallying his troops at Uteren, four miles and a half South of Frauenbron, when a second action took place, but it likewise terminated in favour of the Republicans. The Swiss again attempted to face the enemy at Grauholtz, about five miles North-east of Berne, but were driven back to the very gates of the metropolis, and, after a sanguinary conflict, were totally defeated. In this engagement the Swiss are computed to have lost 2,000 men killed and wounded, and the French not less than 1,800.

The city of Berne capitulated to General Brune, and he entered, it in triumph. on the evening of the 5th. The Swiss troops at Neweneg and Guminen, were forced to retreat ; the soldiers, at the last of which places, put their officers, to death, in a fit of despair, and the unfortunate General d'Erlach, was murdered by his own soldiers, in attempting to escape from the field of battle. The conquest of Berne was the prelude to the surrender of almost the whole of Switzerland, though many parts of that free country appeared determined to resist the invaders to the last extremity : they defeated General Schauenburg with the prodigious loss of 3,000 men, after he had given his assent to a treaty, obliging himself not to take possession of the smaller cantons. It was not to be expected that the independent spirit of a few towns could long resist the power of large and victorious armies. The French generals proclaimed a new form of government, suited to their own taste ; and, by means of laying heavy contributions, and quartering troops upon the inhabitants, goaded them into sub-

mission to the new system, which was styled "*The Helvetic Republic*."

Possessed as the French Government now was of a prodigious army, at perfect leisure, it found little difficulty in giving a very strong appearance of sincerity to its threats of invading the British dominions; yet it seemed anxious to distract the councils of its enemy as to its ultimate designs. Buonaparté, who was appointed to the command of that immense body of forces, called "*The Army of England*," was sent to Radstadt, as the French Plenipotentiary to the Congress, which seemed to place the object of the expedition, whatever it might be, at a great distance of time: the English Government, however, who never took much pains to be very correct in its information, thought it made a very shrewd discovery, when it traced its destination to Ireland; and several circumstances occurred to strengthen the opinion. Buonaparté only continued at Radstadt just long enough to find fault with some of the members, and some of the proceedings of the Congress, when he returned to Paris; this was a proof that he was ready to go to Ireland, especially as about the same time several persons, connected with the disaffected society of United Irishmen, were detected in driving a cart along the sea-beach, upon the coast of Kent, with a design to engage the first boat they could hire to take them over to France, in order to present a Paper to the Directory, inviting it to send an army over to help a club of spouters in London to overturn the Government!

But if the English Government augured too much in inferring the destination of Buonaparte's expedition, it was not incorrect in its opinion, that Ireland

was in extreme danger : its own barbarous conduct coming in collision with the barbarous manners and superstition of the people, had created such an inextinguishable hatred between the partisans of the Government, and the United Irishmen, that could only be subdued in a torrent of bloodshed.

The United Irish became so impatient, in Dublin, to put their plans in execution, that some of their most furious leaders recommended an instant rising. The situation of the Irish Government became every day more critical, as they could neither be certain where the blow was to be aimed, nor what means should be employed in order to render it ineffectual : but the mysterious designs and extended views of their leaders, were gradually unfolded by the seizure of papers, and by secret information, and defensive measures were, accordingly, adopted. At Belfast, in the house of one Alexander, Colonel Barb found two different Committees, and surprised them, while actually sitting. The minutes and papers were seized, among which they found the printed Declaration and Constitution of the United Irishmen, and many others of a similar tendency, which gave the fullest information respecting their designs. The magistrates in different parts of the country discovered more papers, of equal importance, which more fully explained their intentions, and corroborated every previous discovery. The papers thus found were submitted to the Secret Committees of both houses of Parliament, and each house drew up a report, in conformity to the evidence they contained. The military force was, in consequence, augmented, the Insurrection Act, in different places, was enforced ; some divisions of the country were declared out of the King's peace, and vast quantities of concealed arms

were seized on. The agents of Government did not execute this business with much respect to justice or humanity, but were, in many instances, wantonly cruel. Persons were flogged severely, in order to extort a confession from them of what they knew about the conspiracy. The English, who profess to be so zealous in defending the constitution of their progenitors, ought not to have been the first to vindicate a violation of it by their own savage conduct; for, to punish men without trying them, let their crimes be ever so shocking, is a disgrace to despotism itself: yet it would be uncandid to charge on Government the dreadful cruelties committed by the soldiers, as they frequently, exceeded their authority in the exercise of their blind, infuriated zeal.

The United Irishmen, conceiving themselves driven to the necessity of desperately defending what they conceived to be their rights, and actually masters of different parts of Leinster and Munster, Earl Moira wished to adopt the humane method of lenity and conciliation, to bring them back to submission and obedience, for which purpose he made a motion to that effect in the British house of peers, preceded by the following observations. "That many individuals had been torn from their families, and locked up, for months, in the closest confinement, without hearing by whom they were accused, with what crime they were charged, or to what means they might recur to prove their innocence; that great numbers of houses had been burned, with the whole property of the wretched owners, upon the loosest supposition of even petty transgression; that torture, (by which he meant picquetting and half-hanging,) had been used, in more instances than one, in order to extort from

the sufferer a charge against his neighbours." As his Lordship declared that he could substantiate these facts, and designed to move for the examination of deponents at the bar of the house, it was, unquestionably, the duty of Government, to inflict the most exemplary punishment on such hardened villains; but this, it is believed, was never done.

Lord Glentworth differed entirely from the Earl of Moira, declaring that his Lordship had put the cause for the effect, since the evils, he lamented, were the result of popular disaffection and rebellion; and, if any blame in this matter could attach to Government, Lord Glentworth said, it was for not resisting the alarming operations of the rebels long before it did. He maintained, that the outrages of the soldiery, so frequently insisted on, were never sanctioned by authority of the legislature: if so, it is a remarkable circumstance why the most atrocious and criminal of them were not punished. On the same day that Lord Moira made his motion, the Committees of United Men passed a declaration, "That they would pay no attention whatever to any attempt that might be made by either house of parliament, to divert the public mind from the grand object they had in view, as nothing should satisfy them but a complete separation of their country from England."

Whatever credit may be due to Lord Glentworth for his charge against Ministers with respect to Ireland, they were determined that no censure should be imputed to them on account of tardiness in England. The only rebellions of which the people *here* were guilty, were, those of exposing to ridicule and disgrace the puerile and ineffectual efforts by which those incapable men attempted to accomplish their objects,

whilst they corruptly squandered the revenues of the country upon their own minions and flatterers; and, as they could not drive the people to be guilty of *real* treasons, they falsely accused them of constructive treasons, and, by circulating unfounded rumours and alarms, conjured up pretences for arresting and imprisoning a great number of innocent men.

It has been stated that some persons were arrested on the coast of Kent, going, or desirous of going, to France. Of these five persons, the greatest number were the most vain and giddy-minded that could have been chosen to transact any human concern: it was vanity alone which led them to chuse Whittable as the best road of going to France, for they might have got room enough in any of the vessels that take passengers to the continent under neutral colours, only, that they fancied themselves to be such great men, that they could not follow the usual track without being watched. The same frivolity of mind, induced one of them, O'Coigly, to assume the air of a man of business, among the peasants on the coast of Kent: he affected to have forgotten to put some letters, of the very first importance, into the post, and sent off to the next post two letters, one, directed to Manchester, and one to Amsterdam. A letter to a country post-office, directed to Amsterdam, by strangers wandering upon the coast, was an occurrence far from beneath the notice of the circles of intelligence in an isolated village. In fine, this circumstance, which our wiseacres intended to shew the people that they had something to do, first put them upon enquiring what that something could be; and the very sound of Amsterdam (not because it was an enemy's

country, but because it was a gin country) put it into the head of the Comptroller of the Customs, that there was something in this expedition that led to the improvement of his fortune, and the impression was so strong, that he transmitted the letters to the Secretary of State, by whom care was taken to escort our travellers to London, instead of to Paris.

Of the letter to Manchester the Government made a different use: it was addressed to a manufacturer of Manchester, who had shewn some kindnesses to O'Coigly, in consequence of a letter of recommendation, which he had presented, on his arrival from Dundalk, where he was an officiating priest; and, as the Government thought that one man could hardly be a traitor, without all his connexions being traitors, it was resolved to set a watch upon the Manufacturer, and the persons with whom he was in the habits of conversing, to try if some circumstances could not be discovered relative to them, that would afford a more justifiable pretext for arresting them as traitors. One of the Manchester magistrates selected a low puffer to an auctioneer, to act as a spy upon the occasion, an office for which he was qualified, by having acted as a sort of *valet du place* to O'Coigly at Manchester: this man shortly collected a few of the most uninformed persons in the town, chiefly Irish, and persuaded them to get the oath printed, which the United Men in Ireland used to administer to each other. The number of those deluded people did not exceed ten, and even these could not be prevailed upon to arm themselves from the barracks, as was proposed to them by a soldier, introduced to them by the same agent of the magistrate. The Manufac-

turer above alluded to, a tailor, who was supposed capable of swearing to O'Coigly's coat, and the printer, who had printed the Irish oath, were all arrested, because it was expedient. To give eclat to this proceeding, and to operate upon the credulity of the English people, the persons thus marked out as the victims of a mistaken policy were put in irons, and paraded to London, amidst convoys of loyal volunteers, who were called out, at every stage between Manchester and London, to take their share in the escort.

The people of England, who delight to talk of the depravity of other nations, and the unjustness of other governments, will hardly like to have their own conduct, in this affair, brought to their recollection. Government conducted itself, with regard to those individuals, as mysteriously as the most despotic power, either ancient or modern, could have done. No one ever heard what they were charged with, yet they were immured in a place, which, however it may differ from what was called the Bastille in France, was used by the English Government exactly for the same purpose, and exactly in the same way, as the old French despotism had used their Bastille. Here these poor men were locked up, in separate cells, six feet wide and nine feet deep, without being allowed the common indulgencies of a prison; and prevented from having any communication whatever with their families, or any other person. This pitiful policy was resorted to by the administration for the purpose of raising an artificial alarm, by which they might be the better enabled to grasp that unlimited power, which was the constant end and aim of the ministers. In



these treacherous views they were aided by the London newspapers, the editors of which, with that conscientious regard to truth, which marks all their loyal effusions, entered into all the minutiae of a vast and complicated plot, which, they assured the public would, have broken out within a few hours, had not the timely interference of their all-wise Government prevented it. These general declarations were, indeed, soon obscured by the superior light of *The Times*! for that journal told the public, that Manchester was only the centre of the conspiracy, and that it was connected with all the principal towns. An agreement, it was said, had been entered into by the conspirators of Manchester and London, to set fire to the metropolis in different places, and reduce it to ruins in a few hours. Plans were discovered for cutting off the water-works, and weapons were found on the margin of the Thames: in fact, it would be endless to relate the falsehoods, contrived by the London newspapers, to procure the unjust imprisonment of their fellow-countrymen; and it would be impossible to animadvert with sufficient severity upon the depravity of a public, who could give credit to such fabrications, without evidence; yet, such was the effect of those alarming fables, that the ministry were enabled to enter the house of every man who denounced their corrupt Government, and lock him up quiet in a cell, upon a false charge of high treason.

It was about this period that the English ministers, and the English newspapers, began to make Buonaparté personally of consequence, by opening upon him their batteries of personal abuse; and

it may be of some use to the English people to recollect, that the same Pittites, and the same press, which opened the volume of abuse against the General, contrived also calumnies enough, to justify the arrest of forty or fifty innocent men, for the gratification of *mere private revenge*. The pretence offered by the ministers for arresting so many of the feeble inhabitants of London was, that they met secretly to learn the use of arms, and were in possession of dangerous weapons, for the purpose of aiding the enemy, in case he should attempt to invade the kingdom. Upon this charge, of which there was not the slightest evidence, unless it were against a few persons whom the Government immediately discharged, did the pious, the humane, the honourable men, who compose the British Legislature, suspend the only law which gives England any advantage over the most despotic country, and consign a great number of innocent men to the tortures of a secret prison.

Of the persons thus arrested upon the charge of co-operating and corresponding with the enemy, some were known to be decidedly averse to the French Government, and to the whole of its measures; and many of them were charged with no offence whatever, but having attempted to visit their friends, thus suspected of being traitors; but the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act left the ministry at full liberty to indulge their animosities; and, if they made so equitable a use of their power in England, posterity will determine how far they were likely to be guided by an overstrained moderation in Ireland.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

*Organization of the Rebellion in Ireland.—Detected by Government, and Fourteen of the Irish Union seized, with their Papers.—Arrest of Three of the Irish Directory.—Attempt to arrest Lord Edward Fitzgerald.—He kills one of the Officers, and dies of his own Wounds.—The Standard of Insurrection hoisted.—Naas attacked by the United Irish.—Progress of the Rebellion.—Landing of the French.—Their Surrender.—Measures of Conciliation adopted by Government.*

PREVIOUS to entering upon the particulars of that awful Rebellion, which the unhappy spirit of the two countries produced in Ireland, it is necessary to observe, that a system of union and co-operation had been adopted among the disaffected, by means of *descending committees*, which enabled the *supreme council* to communicate its instructions to the whole associated body with great rapidity. The *executive power*; or, as it ought, more properly, to be called, the *directing soul*, communicated with the Representatives of Provinces, which were four in number: Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and Ulster: these again communicated with the Representatives of Baronies, who also communicated with the Representative of every Hundred Men associated in his Barony; and the Representatives of Hundreds communicated with the Representatives of Tens; which last held the rank of corporal in the malcontent army. Thus an immense population was capable of being called into action by an invisible agency; and the attempts of

Government to suppress this insurrection could not be greatly successful, unless it could secure the directing power, or interrupt the chain of communication : to this object the attention of Government was directed ; and the treachery of a principal Cashier furnished the means, by giving information where a meeting of Provincial Delegates would assemble on the 22nd of March ; which enabled the Police to seize, in Dublin, fourteen of the principal Representatives, with all their papers, plans, lists of names, &c.

The information obtained by Government imported, that the time was already fixed for a general rising ; whilst it appeared, that a new government was already arranged, and had taken measures for appropriating all the property and resources of Ireland to the purposes of the insurrection. In the formation of the new government the Irish Leaders had shewn themselves the servile imitators of the French. The supreme power was lodged in a Directory, consisting of Five Men ! and they professed to consider all persons attached to the established government as rebels, whose estates should be confiscated for the good of their new Republic ! The Five Directors were : Lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the Duke of Leinster ; Mr. Arthur O'Connor, a descendant from Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught ; Mr. Oliver Bond ; Councillor Emmet, and Dr. M<sup>c</sup>Nevin : of these the three latter were arrested ; and Mr. O'Connor was among the persons taken with O'Coigly on the coast of Kent. But still the principal power remained ; for Lord Edward Fitzgerald possessed great military talents, and was already adored by the Irish as the great Captain of their political salvation. The vacancies in the Directory were filled

up; yet, as it was unknown by what means Government obtained its information, it was not possible to prevent it obtaining intelligence of all the movements that were adopted: the new Directors were arrested; and Lord Edward only escaped the vigilance of the Police by the peculiar disguise he assumed, and the care he took to avoid attending any of the meetings in person.

Such frequent interruptions frustrated the plans of the Insurgents, and retarded the general rising; it was, therefore, the middle of May before they were prepared to make even a partial attempt. Both parties attached the highest importance to the services of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and were equally of opinion, that the success or miscarriage of the rebellion might depend upon the chance of his being able to place himself at the head of the United Irishmen. The critical juncture, at last, arrived; when nothing remained but to give the final instructions to the persons sustaining the offices of generals and colonels, who were to lead the different bands against the King's forces; and Lord Edward went himself to meet them, at a *cabaret*, in the suburbs of Dublin; where the same sort of vanity, which had led to the detection of Mr. O'Connor, led also to the discovery of his Lordship, and to the general derangement of all the insurrectional plans.

It is a circumstance worthy of particular remark, that in Ireland, as well as in England and France, during the whole revolutionary struggle, the persons who most vehemently declaimed against rank and titles, became perfectly reconciled to them, when they became associated in any manner with themselves; it was not an uncommon thing to hear an

apostle of equality claim the honour of having been within the sight or the hearing of some Lord, at the same moment that he would have been covered with chagrin and disgrace, to have been surprised in conversation with an honest cobbler. Among the quackeries of the day, the epithet, *Citizen*, became the style both of address and appellation, which the Revolutionist's adopted and used, as the Quakers do the epithet, "Friend." The inferior tribes had neither motive nor temptation to depart from this simple style, but the more elevated were governed by the same passions that govern persons in general of the same class; and, therefore, however willing they were to appear as humble citizens among the vulgar, their pride was always flattered in pronouncing *Son Excellence*, or, My Lord, if ever their fortune led them into any communication with persons of such rank. So it happened at the meeting of the Irish Chiefs: the assembly had all the air of a convivial company, and every precaution was taken to disguise the person, and conceal the character of the Generalissimo; but one of the persons, who, perhaps, never had had an opportunity of addressing a nobleman before, could not forego the gratification of being a great man, for once in his life; and, in the intoxication of his soul, directed some observation to his Leader, whom he accosted by his title of "Lord Edward." This was overheard by a servant-girl, who attended the company, and notice was given to the police, in consequence of which, such measures were taken as enabled Government to trace out his residence, and to arrest the principal persons, who were to act under him.

Having made every use of their information that

was thought necessary, previous to securing the person of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Government ordered him to be taken into custody on the 21st of May. Some opinion may be formed of the struggle he would have made at the head of an army, from his having maintained a considerable resistance against three officers, who attempted to take him, one of whom he wounded, after having killed another, whilst he defended himself against the third, till he received two wounds, of which he himself died in a few days.

The 23d of May had been fixed upon for the general attack, and Lord Edward had continued in Dublin to put himself at the head of those corps which were to seize the castle, and give alarm to the whole country, in getting possession of the metropolis by a *coup de main*. Not a leader of consequence now remained with the Insurgents, and their own infuriated zeal alone guided them in the desperate enterprise into which they were about to embark; yet it was so obvious, that, if they did not immediately try their strength, Government would pick them off, one by one, till they would all have perished, without a struggle; that they came to a resolution, which if they had adopted two months before, might, probably, have given them the victory. Unorganized as they were, it was resolved to hoist the standard of the revolt, and on the 23d to attack the King's forces in their own camp, a few miles from Dublin, and to seize upon the cannon in that neighbourhood; accordingly the town of Naas was entered, in defiance of the military, and several, on both sides, were killed and wounded.

The rebellion became general in the province of

Leinster; and the counties of Kildare, Wexford, and Wicklow, were nearly occupied by the Insurgents; by whom every exertion was made to get possession of Dublin, that could be expected from a rabble, now headed chiefly by bigotted and fanatical priests, who bid defiance to every kind of discipline but that of the rosary and the stake ! Though greatly superior in numbers, the Insurgents were kept at bay by the King's forces; and such severe and vigorous measures were adopted by the Government, that a great number of persons of respectability and property, who were true rebels in heart, were deterred from joining the malcontents from motives of policy. A few days shewed the effects of an inadequate co-operation among the different parts of the country; for, owing to the annihilation of the directing councils the Northern counties did not rise to second those of the South, so that the royal armies were enabled to concentrate themselves in defence of the chief points of attack.

Father John Murphy, a priest, had put himself at the head of the principal force, and had collected a large body of followers, who had formed a tolerably well fortified camp at Vinegar Hill; from whence numerous parties issued in irregular order, and, without any apparent design, committed the most wanton cruelties and excesses upon the persons and estates of all who differed from them either in their religious or political opinions: in their various predatory excursions they took a great many prisoners, chiefly Protestants; these were shut up in the mills or barns within the camp, and were frequently brought out, and cruelly butchered, by pikes or bayonets, under pretence of their being about to escape ! Nothing in



nature could exceed the enthusiasm of this furious rabble; and, were it possible that mere numbers, in any case, were capable of subduing regular troops, (as has been said with regard to the French, in their conquests, heretofore narrated) the United Irish must have triumphed over the King's forces: but the very first serious onset served at once to give confidence to the Government and its friends, and to destroy the hopes of the most shrewd among the friends of the rebels: multitudes of the Insurgents fell at the first charge, whilst the number of soldiers killed was, comparatively, trifling; and, when once the unruly assailants were thrown into confusion, all attempts to rally them were ineffectual; they could only save themselves by flight.

Though the persons who now took the management of the Insurrection were not of the first class of leaders, and knew little of the political correspondence that existed between their late Directory and that of France, there was a kind of vague and undefined idea among them, that a French armament was about to co-operate in their enterprise: this persuasion rendered it highly important that an intercourse should be kept up between the United Men and their allies, which could not be accomplished unless they got possession of a seaport: great exertions were, therefore, made to take the town and port of Wexford; and this was accomplished, owing to the impossibility of sending reinforcements in sufficient time from Dublin.

Few events could have had a more discouraging tendency upon the minds of the wavering than the neglect of the French Government in this instance. A small disciplined force would have been quite sufficient to have maintained a most vigorous stand

against the British forces; and the French Directory had given every pledge, that public declarations could convey, of their design to support the people whenever they should rise.

It was equally a fault, both of the Government and the people, that they gave the smallest credit to the French; for, though there were near 150,000 men in that army commanded by Buonaparté, artfully styled "The Army of England," not a single regiment made its appearance upon the Irish coast! and the Insurgents saw the treachery of its cunning ally when it was too late to be of use to them. During the time they kept possession of Wexford the Insurgents gained some advantages, which served to increase their numbers and inflame their hopes: in consequence of which they resolved upon the capture of Ross, which was defended by 1,400 effective men, besides artillery. The fury of this contest was indescribable, and resembled one of those savage struggles that take place among the barbarous hordes of Africa, rather than a battle between the armies of a civilized people. The assailants were upwards of 30,000 strong, and they advanced upon the town, with horrid yells, and the clattering of pikes, about five o'clock in the morning, being equally inspired with religion and whiskey! For some hours they continued to beat the troops, and actually got possession of the town, an advantage which they might have secured, had it not been for the anarchy that prevailed over the general body. It was not long before they were entirely subdued by the potent draughts of strong drink, in which they indulged; and General Johnson having rallied the garrison, retook the town, with very little difficulty.

Without any plan of general co-operation, and incapable of learning the state of other parts of the country, those Southern Insurgents could only hope to annoy the Royal Forces by frequent skirmishes, until the arrival of assistance from France. But whilst the success of the rebellion had not the smallest dependance upon the French supplies, it was highly important to the Government that the naval forces of Britain should be so disposed of as to prevent the approach of the coast from any of the enemy's squadrons: the immense body of troops collected under the command of Buonaparté was more than sufficient for the conquest of Ireland, and it became a question of great moment, whether a part of it might not be designed to make a descent upon the English coast at the same time. The British Government appear to have neglected the means of obtaining such useful information relative to the movements of the French, as their large demands for secret service money would have paid for. Every arrangement was made, upon the persuasion that the great expedition was destined for the British Isles, and the defence of the Mediterranean was abandoned, for the purpose of guarding the whole line of coast, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Texel. Certainly no consideration could be so important to the ministry, nor any duty so imperious, as the protection of their own country; and it is, perhaps, only upon this principle, that any apology can be offered for an incendiary excursion, upon which a part of the British force was commissioned, to the coast of Flanders. It was known that France was capable of supplying her arsenals and flotillas, by means of the internal

navigation of Holland and the Low Countries; and hence, it was considered, a great point to destroy some of the basons, or canals, that should interrupt that communication. The bason, gates, and sluice of Bruges, were, therefore, ordered for destruction, and an expedition, under the command of Captain (now Sir Home) Popham, and General Coote, landed at Ostend, from whence they proceeded to Bruges, where they did much mischief to the works. Little credit attended this attempt, for, before the English troops could be returned to their transports the French mustered, and took them prisoners. The French had determined to condemn them to repair the mischief they had done to the works, but upon a survey, it was found that all the injury the bason had received could be obviated at a small expence within a short time.

In Ireland the cruelties exercised by the Catholics towards the Protestants, gave the rebellion more the character of a superstitious crusade than a struggle for liberty, and many of the United Men, of the latter persuasion, *eagerly* withdrew from a contest, in which to be successful would only be to prepare the gibbet and the scourge for themselves and their families.

On the 22d of June, the King's troops retook Wexford, and the Insurgents, after a reign of one single month, found themselves obliged to take shelter amongst the hills and fastnesses, whence they could hope to gain very little benefit by any kind of auxiliary force, even if their treacherous allies should deign to send one. Scarcely any event of the important age in which we live, has had so much influence upon the life and subsequent fortunes of our Hero

as the insurrection in Ireland; and there is great *reason* to believe, that the troubles in that country, were not only concerted by the French Government, but that it recommended the very time at which the rising should take place. Whilst professing friendship to the Irish and English *people*, that Government was intent upon the accomplishment of its own objects of aggrandizement, and it regarded the blood of thousands of the misguided peasantry as an inconsiderable price for their concealment.

Wexford was yet in the hands of the malcontents, when news was brought to the Government of England, that Buonaparté had put to sea with his army, and that he was convoyed by the flower of the French navy. Expectation now magnified every danger, and uncertainty already traced the Conqueror of Italy carrying on a campaign in Ireland. Time passed on, but no tidings were heard of the General; the alarm greatly increased, and it was but just known that Buonaparté had been to the island of Malta, without declaring his future destination, when accounts arrived that a French army had actually landed on the Western coast of Ireland.

The French General, Humbert, made good his landing at Killala on the 22d of August, a circumstance which created such general consternation, that it was even deemed necessary for the Lord-Lieutenant to take the field in person, at the head of a numerous force: it was, no doubt, a terrible and unexpected disappointment to General Humbert, on his landing, to find that a very few of the inhabitants were inclined to co-operate with him, since their late numerous defeats had induced them to consider their cause as utterly hopeless.

Such of the natives as repaired to the standard of the French General were soon disposed to abandon it, as the strictness of his discipline, was wholly incompatible with their plundering and savage dispositions. The first movements of General Humbert, it has been remarked, were a display of the most exquisite military skill, and evinced him worthy to command a very numerous army on a most hazardous expedition. Although the forces destined to act against him, and stop his progress, were far more numerous than his own, yet he wisely judged that tardy movements would be inimical to his future success, and, therefore, he marched, with rapidity, towards Castlebar, where General Lake was employed in collecting his forces. On the 27th he engaged the British General, and compelled him to retreat with the loss of six pieces of cannon, and a few men. The troops, under General Lake, have been stated at 6,000 men, while those of the French commander were under 900. Humbert next proceeded towards Tuam; but it was simply impossible, that, with such a contemptible force, he could long be victorious, without the powerful co-operation of the people at large. On the 7th of September the Lord Lieutenant overtook the enemy in the neighbourhood of Castlebar; and, before the dawn of day on the ensuing morning, he compelled them to retrograde. General Humbert took a circuitous march, by which means he favoured the retreat of the rebels.

About seven in the morning the French rear guard was overtaken by Lieutenant-Colonel Crauford at Ballinamuck, and peremptorily summoned to lay down their arms. With this order they shewed no

signs of compliance, and, therefore, the British troops immediately attacked them, when about 200 of them threw down their arms, in the hope that their example would be followed by the rest of their countrymen: but as General Craddock advanced, they poured upon him a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, by which he was wounded: and, therefore, fresh reinforcements were ordered by General Lake, and an attack commenced against their position, in every direction, when, in about the space of half an hour, the whole of them surrendered. About ninety-three of the unfortunate Insurgents were taken prisoners, and three of their generals, viz. Blake, Roach, and Teeling. Four of the rebels, who had joined the invading regiment (for an army it would be ridiculous to call it,) were hanged at Castlebar by order of General Humbert, for various acts of plunder and rapine.

We presume not to say what advantages were expected by the Directory to be derived from this ludicrous expedition, although it is manifest they looked for some, since a brig was seen off the Island of Raghlin, on the 16th of September, the crew of which effected a landing about eight o'clock in the morning, among whom, were General Rey and Napper Tandy, a general of brigade in the service of France. After making enquiry concerning the fate of the troops which disembarked at Killala, they became very much dejected on being informed of their defeat: they afterwards sounded the minds of the inhabitants by dint of manifestoes, but found, to their inexpressible mortification, that the sentiments of Irishmen were radically changed; they had suf-

ferred too much from the British military, and the unaccountable tardiness of their Gallic friends, to hazard another insurrection. Finding matters in such a situation, they embarked, and put to sea.

In a short time after, the French Republic made a more serious attempt to subjugate Ireland, but, like all preceding endeavours, it was ultimately fruitless: it was not made till the British Government was fully apprised of it, and the Irish coast, of consequence, sufficiently protected. Towards the close of September, a squadron, consisting of one sail of the line, and eight frigates, took its departure from the harbour of Brest, and, by the 11th of the ensuing month, they were discovered by Sir J. B. Warren, who had under his command the *Canada*, *Robust*, *Foudroyant*, *Magnanime*, *Æthalion*, *Melampus*, and *Amelia*, as also the *Anson*, that joined them before the termination of the action. The battle commenced on the morning of the 12th, and the *Hoche*, the enemy's line of battle ship, did not strike to the British flag till about eleven o'clock, after a gallant resistance, which did honour to her commander. This made the frigates crowd all the sail they could carry, in order to effect their escape, when they were chased for five hours by the British Admiral, three of them were captured during that day, and a like number in a short time after. The whole squadron, with the exception of two frigates, were in this manner totally defeated.

After the first and most powerful body of the Insurgents had been subdued, and many severe examples had been made of the prisoners, it was deemed advisable to take such measures of a conciliatory nature, as should be calculated to weaken the ranks,



by the disaffection of at least those, who might not be very zealous in the Insurrection. With this view bills of outlawry and attainder, were passed by the Irish parliament, against a small number among whom were the most conspicuous of the leaders, and a Bill of Amnesty for those who would lay down their arms, and accept it within a certain time. Lord Cornwallis was appointed Lord Lieutenant, to carry those measures into effect, and this nobleman, by his mild and benevolent manners, not only prevailed upon the people to return to their usual occupations, but also induced so many of the leaders, as were still under arrest, to purchase their lives by a general disclosure of all the circumstances that had led to, and accomplished the rebellion.

The struggle was now hopeless, and only existed in the perseverance of a few fool-hardy murtherers, headed by Holt, an obscure individual, of great talent and intrepidity whose well-contrived stratagems, served to elude the vigilance of his pursuers, until they were willing to grant him his life, upon condition of quitting the country.



## CHAPTER XXIV.

*Expedition to Egypt; why undertaken.—Buonaparté puts to Sea.—Seizes Malta.—Unjust Decree.—Letter to a Bishop.—Arrival off the Coast of Egypt.—Cautious Approach.—Proclamation.—Landing at Alexandria.*

AMONG the evils occasioned by war, it must not be considered one of the least, that it gives a public sanction to a spirit of chicanery and deceit, which, in private life, could never gain the smallest approbation, did it not introduce itself in the plausible garb of patriotism. Commerce, which has a natural tendency to corrupt the morals of mankind, is never promoted by avowed falsehood, without inflicting a degree of odium upon every such dishonourable agent as renders him despicable in the eyes of the mercantile world; and were it not that in a state of war, merchants and statesmen shelter their profligacy and dishonesty under that pseudo patriotism, which is supposed necessary to the support of their respective governments, the affairs of trade and commerce might be contaminated with a very small degree of finess. But in the present war, it may very truly and justly be called a system of good management. In the conduct of it, art and deception is resorted to, which is calculated to direct the attention of the enemy to a quarter as remote as possible from the point of attack. It has seldom happened that a stratagem has been more successfully practised in the history of the government of France, in the panic which it occasioned in England, by persuading all

ranks of people, that the expedition fitting out under the direction of Buonaparté was designed to invade the British Isles.

France had long looked with envy upon the territorial and commercial greatness of Britain in the East Indies, and every species of intrigue had been employed, as well by the new Government as the old, to entangle that country in perpetual hostilities with the native governments: it was favourable to these views, that Hyder Ally, an intrepid soldier, who had usurped the throne and territory of Myfore, entertained a similar hatred to the English, owing to the obstacles which their power and resources opposed to his enterprising schemes. A close alliance between the Governments of France and Myfore obliged the English to be constantly on the alert in the East Indies; and, though the British arms were triumphant in every contest, the danger increased with the progress of time, inasmuch as the French officers and engineers instructed their allies in all the mysteries of European tactics.

On the death of Hyder, his son and successor, Tippoo Saib, evinced the same dislike and attachment, and, being severely beaten by the English, just previous to the war that took place with the Republic, he hailed that event as likely to afford him an opportunity of gratifying his resentment: their mutual convenience drew the two powers into close correspondence with each other, and the army of the Sultan became officered by Frenchmen. No doubts were entertained in England as to the designs of Tippoo, but, occupied as France was, during her struggle with the Combined Powers of Europe, it was known that she could spare no effectual force

to co-operate with him. When the continental war had ceased, this difficulty was removed; but there was another, which seemed equally insurmountable, and this was discovered in the superiority of the British navy, that now rode triumphant in every sea.

Notwithstanding this latter obstacle, France had resolved to reach and attack the British possessions in India, and the enterprising spirit of Buonaparté, was just suited to the hazard of the undertaking. To accomplish this remote and visionary project, it was resolved to invade and seize upon the whole territory of Egypt, that, by carrying the commerce of the East through the Red Sea, the new French Colony might become the grand mart, where all Europe might be supplied with Indian commodities, much cheaper than they could be procured from the English; at the same time, that, as a military post, it could at all times find means to transport auxiliaries to the coast of Coromandel. This plan was imparted to Tippoo, and it was known by the Government in India nearly as soon as it was communicated to the cabinet of London.

It was the expedition to Egypt, that the Directory and the General were preparing; whilst they masked their designs under the appearance of organizing an army of England to co-operate with the United Irishmen, although the object was concealed with so much address, that it was doubtful, after it was known that Malta had been captured, whether the General might not, even from thence, bend his course for Ireland.

So many volumes of encomiums have been written, to compliment the wisdom and foresight employed in the arrangement and execution of the preliminary

steps to this project, that the language of panegyric is nearly exhausted, and little is left to the historian but a dry narrative of facts ; yet it would be wresting from truth the homage which is justly her due, did we omit this opportunity of observing, that no instance is upon record, of an expedition, to the same extent, being planned and carried into effect under such evidently hazardous circumstances. Neither the Directory nor the General may, perhaps, be entitled to *all* the praises that have been bestowed upon their talents for their first success in this enterprize ; but if *little* merits belongs to a government, which could manage to elude, upon a narrow sea, a vigilant enemy of far superior force ; what, contempt, nay, what punishment, is not due to a Government, which, possessing *the entire command* of the ocean, yet suffers its enemy to retain his colonies in the midst of its triumphal fleets, and loads its subjects with the burdens of procrastinated war, because it has not talents enough to deprive her of the means of carrying it on ?

Just at the point of time when the British Government had most to dread from the Irish Insurrection, and when it was under the necessity of guarding every French port on the Western ocean, that part of the Army of England, which was cantoned in the Southern ports, put to sea, under the command of Buonaparté. On the 20th of May, 1798, the General put to sea, from the harbour of Toulon, on board the ship *l'Orient*, of 120 guns, bearing the flag of Admiral Bruyes, to take the command of a fleet, then collecting from the different ports under the dominion of France, and which was to consist of thirteen sail of the line, besides four frigates, and

near 400 transports. On board the fleet was an army of 40,000 men, and a vast number of merchants and adventurers, who, ready to take any road that seemed to lead to fortune, blindly associated their fate with this expedition, without knowing any one fact relative to it, more, than that Buonaparté was at its head: there were also a great number of men of science and learned persons, besides artists and mechanics, all of whom, were capable of contributing to the prosperity of a new colony; and the whole of this, including the sailors, it is supposed, made the whole number engaged in the expedition amount to near 70,000 souls.

The voyage commenced under a fair wind. The frigates led the van; the Admiral, accompanied by the advice boats, followed, and the ships of the line formed the rear: the transports kept in-shore, between the Hieres and the Levant. On the 22d the fleet off St. Fiorenzo steered in an easterly course for Cape Corsica, leaying Genoa on the larboard. Having passed between Cape Corsica and the Island Capraia, the leading division of the fleet was, at five P. M. to the West of Pinosa, where the wind failing, the convoy could make no way. On the 26th, with the van off the mouths of the Bonifacio, the fleet lay-to for the divisions of Ajaccio and CivitaVecchia. No land was in sight on the morning of the 27th; and on the 29th the frigates were ordered to look into Cagliari, and to return to Porto Vecchia, in case of encountering an enemy superior in force.

On the 26th of June the fleet arrived off the island of Goza, and, the same morning, all the ships of war had passed in review under the stern of the Admiral, when a vessel was sent to reconnoitre several





*General L'Amir!*



ships ahead; and it was found that the division from Civita Vecchia, under Defaix, had, by keeping the Italian coast, passed the Straits of Messina, and got a few days a-head of the fleet on its way to Malta, Cumino and Cuminetto, which, with Goza and Malta, form the whole territory of the Grand Master. Malta was seen at six o'clock, and two crazy barks came off, to sell tobacco. At night the city was in perfect darkness, the Juno frigate was within shot of St. Elmo, and off the port. Signal was made for forming the frigates, and the whole boats were ordered out at nine o'clock: the ships of war and convoy fired several guns as night signals, on which the only light remaining on the port was extinguished. The Captains went on board the l'Orient for orders, and, however unprincipled such a resolution might be, the fame of its riches had determined Buonaparté to attack and seize the island, and its dependencies. On the 9th Buonaparté asked permission to water his fleet, but as the Grand Master apprehended danger from so formidable an armament, he refused to grant the request; this gave Buonaparté an excuse for commencing hostilities.

On the 10th, at four A. M. therefore, a semi-circular line was formed, from the point St. Catharine to a league distance, on the left of the city, completely blockading the port. The Juno was stationed in the centre, off St. Elmo and St. Angelo, while the convoy lay at anchor between Gozo and Cumino. Immediately after this, the Fort St. Catharine fired a shot at the boats employed in landing the division under General Defaix, and the Ecclesiastical standard was hoisted on the fort commanding the city. At

the same instant, on the other end of the line, shallops were employed landing the troops and artillery, which carried two advanced posts, after a momentary resistance. The batteries of all the forts now opened their fire on the boats and vessels, which was kept up with vigour till evening. A sortie was attempted by the Knights, supported by some of the people from the country. The French troops ascended the first eminence at ten A. M. and, having marched behind the city, drove them in, under the protection of their walls and batteries. Many of the Knights fell a sacrifice to their valour, being massacred on their return, in a commotion which had arisen in the city. On the first day the Knights were in grand council; provisions of all kinds and ammunition were carried from the city into the forts, and the general bustle and activity, announced the most warlike intentions. On the second day only part of the Knights wore their uniform; disputes had arisen, and they continued agitated, but inactive.

At day-break on the 11th a languid fire was maintained: a bark under the Ecclesiastical standard came out of the port, and was conducted to the l'Orient; at eleven, a second, under the flag of truce, brought those Knights, who, in the interest of the French, chose to abandon Malta: from them it appeared, that the garrison was almost totally unprovided, and at four P. M. there were fewer men than guns on the walls of the fort. It was evident that the citizens and Knights had disagreed, the gates of the forts being shut, and all intercourse between them and the city at an end. The General sent his aid-de-camp, Junot, with his ultimatum; a few minutes after, twelve Maltese Commissioners came on board the l'Orient, and

on the 12th, at half past eleven the signal was hoisted, to shew that Malta was in the power of the French. Under a salute of 500 guns from the fleet, the French troops took possession of the forts, thus completing the conquest of the strongest post in the Mediterranean.

Among the orders issued by Buonaparté at Malta, there is one, more barbarous than was the Greek, in which it is said to have been written; especially, when it is considered, that he had only the same right to dictate laws at Malta that the robber may claim after he has broken into the house of a peaceable man, and stolen his property. The Articles alluded to, are as follow :

**LIBERTY!**

**EQUALITY!**

**ARMY OF ENGLAND.**

Head Quarters at Malta, June 13.

**ETAT MAJOR-GENERAL.**

**ORDERED, BY THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF.**

Article I. No Latin Priest shall officiate in any church appropriated to the Greeks.

II. The masses which the Latin Priests have been accustomed to say in the Greek churches shall be said in the other Greek churches of the fort.

III. Protection shall be granted to the Jews who may be desirous of establishing their synagogue there.

IV. The General Commandant shall thank the Greeks for their good conduct during the siege.

V. All the Greeks of the islands of Malta and Gozo, and those of the departments of Ithaca, Corcyra, and of the Egean Sea, who shall maintain any connection whatever with Russia, shall be put to death!

VI. All the Greek vessels which sail under Russian co-

lours, if they fall into the hands of the French, shall be sent to the bottom !

A true copy. (Signed) BUONAPARTE.

The General of Division, and Chief of the Staff.

(Signed) ALEXANDER BERTHIER.

A true copy.

The General of Division, (Signed) CHABOT.

From the National Press at Corcyra. (Corfou.)

On the same day, in a Letter, addressed to the Bishop of Malta, the General says,

“ I have learnt with sincere pleasure, good M. Bishop, the kind conduct and reception which you have shewn to the French troops. You may assure the people of your diocese, that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, shall not only be treated with regard, but its ministers especially protected. I know no character more respectable, nor more worthy of veneration, than a priest, who, inspired by the true spirit of the gospel, is persuaded that his duty ordains him to render unfeigned obedience to the temporal power, to maintain peace, tranquillity, and union, in his diocese. I request you immediately to repair to the town of Malta, and to preserve, by your influence there, harmony and tranquillity among the people. I shall be there myself this evening. I request also, that at my arrival you will introduce to me all the priests, and other chiefs, belonging to Malta and the surrounding villages. Be assured of the desire which I have to prove to you the esteem and consideration which I have for you personally.”

*On board the L'Orient, June 13.*

During the short interval of eight days, Buonaparté took possession of the island of Malta, organized therein a provisional government, victualled the fleet, took in water, and arranged all the military and administrative dispositions: he quitted it on the 19th of June, having entrusted the com-

mand to General Vaubois, and appointed Citizen Menard Commissary of Marine.

The wind blew freshly from the north-west. On the 25th of June the armament came within sight of the island of Candia, having laid-to best part of the day for the convoy, which had dispersed in a fog. On the 26th the Captain of the *Juno* received orders to make all the sail possible for Alexandria, now sixty leagues distant; and there to learn, from the French Consul, whether the expedition had been heard of, and what was the disposition of the inhabitants with regard to the enterprize. This frigate was to be the first vessel to anchor on the African shore, and was ordered to collect the Frenchmen resident in Alexandria, and shelter them from the popular tumults that the arrival of the fleet might excite. After this duty, the *Juno* was ordered to return to the rendezvous of the fleet, six leagues off Cape Brulé. Every sail was now spread, but there was scarcely a breath of wind during the whole of the 26th, and part of the following day. By noon, however, on the 27th, she was within 30 leagues of Alexandria; the welcome cry of "Land!" was heard from the maintop at four, and at six o'clock it was visible from the deck, extending like a white stripe along the dark edge of the sea, while not a single tree or house interrupted the monotony of the scene. The *Juno*, steering East by South, weathered Cape Durazo; and at one o'clock in the afternoon a lieutenant was sent on shore, who returned at midnight with the French Consul and Dragoman on board, and the frigate set sail to join the fleet.

The fleet having slackened sail to wait for intelligence, the General took advantage of the interval.

to distribute his general orders among the forces: he had addressed a Proclamation to the army immediately on his arrival at Toulon, the tendency and design of which was to preserve the idea of the expedition being about to invade the British dominions: the proclamation was as follows:

“SOLDIERS!

“You form one of the wings of the Army of England: you have been engaged in the wars of different descriptions—of mountains, plains, and sieges: you are now to make a maritime war. The Roman legions, which you have sometimes imitated, but not yet equalled, combated Carthage, by turns, on this very sea, and on the plains of Zama. Victory never abandoned them, because they were always brave and patient in enduring fatigue—obedient to their leaders, and united among themselves.

“Soldiers! the eyes of Europe are upon you: you have grand destinies to fulfil, battles to fight, dangers and fatigues to overcome:—you must do even more than you have yet done, and endure more than you have yet endured, for the prosperity of your native country, the happiness of the human race, and your own glory! Soldiers, sailors, cannoniers, infantry, and cavalry! be all united—be as one man: recollect that, in the day of battle, you will stand in need of each other. Marines! you have been hitherto neglected, now the greatest solicitude of the Republic is for you; you will be worthy of the army of which you form a part. The Genius of the Republic, from her birth the Arbiter of Europe, *wishes to be the arbiter of the seas also*, and of countries the most distant.”

There is great reason to believe, that if the army had formed any conception of the nature of the voyage, or of the kind of warfare of which they were about to engage, before they had quitted France, they would have mutinied rather than have engaged in the expedition; but as they were promised by the

General six acres of land for each man, as the price of the first victory, and their extreme ignorance led them to believe that they were steering the shortest course for England, they had embarked on the voyage as on a party of pleasure: yet a few days, and the charm would be broken! instead of the cultivated fields and golden palaces of Albion, the disappointed multitude would find themselves among the dreary ruins and barren sands of Africa: it was, therefore, necessary to set England before them, as the goal to which they were hastening, and Egypt as nothing more than an outpost, that stood in their way.

### PROCLAMATION

*Of BUONAPARTE, Member of the National Institute,  
and Commander in Chief.*

Dated on Board L'Orient, June 22.

“SOLDIERS!

“You are going to undertake a conquest, the effects of which, upon commerce and civilization, will be incalculable.

“You will give the English a most sensible blow, which will be followed up with their destruction.

“We shall have some fatiguing marches—we shall fight several battles—we shall succeed in all our enterprises: the Destinies are in our favour.

“The Matmaluke Beys, who favour the English commerce exclusively, who have injured our merchants, and who tyrannize over the unhappy inhabitants of the banks of the Nile, will no longer exist, in a few days after our arrival.

“The people, among whom you are going to live, are Mahometans: the first article of their faith is, ‘There is no other God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet’ Do not contradict them: act with them as you did with the Jews and with the Italians. Treat their Muftis and their

Imans with respect, as you did the Rabbies and the Bishops. You must act with the same spirit of toleration towards the ceremonies prescribed by the Alcoran that you did to the synagogues and the convents, to the religions of Moses and of Jesus Christ.

“The Roman legions protected all religions: you will find here customs which differ from those of Europe; you must accustom yourselves to them.

“The people among whom we are going treat women differently from us; but in every country he who violates them is a monster!

“Pillage enriches but a very few men; it dishonours us; it destroys our resources, and it renders these people our enemies, whom it is our interest to have for friends.

“The first city we shall arrive at was built by Alexander, and every step we take we shall meet with objects capable of exciting emulation.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.”

### GENERAL ORDERS.

BUONAPARTE, *Member of the National Institute, Commander in Chief.*

Head Quarters, on board L'Orient, 24th June.

Article I. The Generals who shall command any detached divisions shall order the Commissaries at war, the Paymaster of the Division, an Officer of the Staff, and a Cheik of the country, to seal up the public treasures, and registers of the revenue, collectors of the Mamelukes.

II. All the Mamelukes shall be arrested, and brought to the head quarters of the army.

III. All the towns and villages shall be disarmed.

IV. All the horses shall be put in requisition, and shall be delivered to the chiefs of cavalry brigades, who shall immediately cause the soldiers to be mounted; for that purpose they carry bridles and saddles with them. Officers, of whatever rank, are forbidden to take any horses till the cavalry are all mounted: the men are forbidden to change their horses.



V. All horses fit for the artillery shall be delivered to the commander of the artillery of the division, who will have harness and drivers ready.

VI. The camels shall be hired, and placed under the direction of the Commander of the Artillery; those which shall be taken from the Mamelukes, or which shall be taken from the enemy, shall be employed in transporting the artillery and ammunition, so as to diminish as much as possible the number of ammunition waggons. There shall be one camel in each division, at the disposition of the Officer of Engineers, to carry the instruments of the pioneers.

VII. Every battalion shall have two camels to carry their baggage: the Chief of Brigade and the Quartermaster shall have one camel, to carry the military chest and the Registers of the corps; but they are not to have camels till the artillery are supplied.

VIII. The Commanders of Artillery and of Cavalry shall give receipts to the Commissaries at War for the camels, horses, &c. which they shall receive.

IX. The Commissaries at War shall send an account of the state of the camels to the Chief Commissary; the Chief of Brigade of Cavalry shall send an account to General Dugua; and the Adjutant-general to the Staff.

X. The horses and camels taken from the enemy after a battle, and after having killed the person who was on it, will be paid for in the following proportion; that is to say, four Louis-d'ors for a horse, and six for a camel. The General of Artillery and the Quarter-Master-General shall pay for those which are delivered to their respective corps.

XI. When all the cavalry is mounted the horses are to be sent to General Dugua, and the camels to the park of artillery.

XII. Every soldier who shall enter into the houses of the inhabitants to steal horses or camels shall be punished.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

By order of the Commander in Chief,

ALEX. BERTHIER.

## ORDERS.

**BUONAPARTE**, *Member of the National Institute, Commander in Chief.*

Head Quarters, on board the L'Orient, June 28.

Article I. The Admiral shall have the police of the coasts, and the ports of the countries which shall be occupied by the army; all the regulations which he shall make, and the orders which he shall give, shall be put in execution.

II. The ports of Malta and Alexandria shall be organized conformably to the Admiral's regulation, as well as those of Corfou and Damietta.

III. Citizen Le Roy shall take upon him the office of Commissary at Alexandria; and Citizen Vavasseur that of Superintendent of the Artillery.

IV. The Agents of the Administration of the ports and roads of the countries occupied by the army shall correspond with the Commissary, Le Roy; from whom they shall immediately receive their orders.

V. All the naval stores found in the conquered countries shall be secured in the magazines of the different ports.

VI. All the sailors, under thirty years of age, shall be put in requisition for the fleet.

(Signed)

**BUONAPARTE.**

A true copy.

**JAUBERT.**

On the 1st of July the Consul arrived on board the Admiral's ship; he stated, that the appearance of the French frigate, occasioned the immediate adoption of measures against the Christian inhabitants of the city, and that he experienced great difficulty in coming away: he added, that 14 English vessels, appeared on the 28th June, within half a league of Alexandria, and that Admiral Nelson, after communicating with the English Consul, relative to the French fleet, had directed his course towards the North-east;

and lastly, he informed the General, that it was resolved to defend the city and forts of Alexandria against the troops of any nation, that should attempt to land.

Whereupon the General wrote the following Letter :

*BUONAPARTE, Member of the National Institute, Commander in Chief, to the Commander of the Caraval, at Alexandria.*

Head Quarters, on board the L'Orient, July 1.

“ The Beys have loaded our merchants with exactions, and I am come to demand reparation.

“ I shall be at Alexandria to-morrow ; but this ought not to alarm you. You are a subject of our great friend, the Sultan ; conduct yourself accordingly ; but if you commit the slightest act of hostility against the French army, I shall treat you as an enemy, and you will have no one to blame for it but yourself ; for such a thing is far from my intention, and from my heart.

Your's,

BUONAPARTE.”

“ It was now apprehended,” says General Berthier, “ that the English fleet would suddenly appear, and attack us, at a moment, and in circumstances, the most unfavourable for resistance. Not an instant was to be lost : the General in Chief, the same evening, made the necessary arrangements for a landing, and fixed on the Point at Marabou as the spot ; he ordered the fleet to anchor as near the Point as possible ; but two ships of war, in preparing to execute this, ran foul of the Admiral's ship, which caused the order to be countermanded, and the armament remained at its then situation. This was at a distance of about three leagues from the shore, the wind was Northerly,

and blew with violence, and the waves, dashing against the breakers which surround the coast, rendered the debarkation equally perilous and difficult; but neither these, nor the adverse state of the elements, could retard the brave men, who were eager to anticipate the hostile dispositions of the inhabitants.

“ Buonaparté was anxious to superintend the debarkation in person; he went on board a galley, and was instantly followed by a numerous train of boats, in which he had ordered Generals Bon and Kleber to embark such parts of their divisions as were on board the ships of war. Generals Desaix, Regnier, and Menou, whose divisions were on board the transports, were ordered to effect a landing with their men in three columns, as near as possible to the point of Marabou. The sea, in an instant, was covered with boats, which stemmed the furious impetuosity of the waves. The galley which carried Buonaparté approached the nearest breakers, whence the entrance to the creek of Marabou was discovered; he there waited for those boats that had orders to join him, but they arrived not at the place till after sun-set, and were unable, during the night, to penetrate the ledge of breakers. At length, very early in the morning, the General in Chief, effected a landing, at the head of the foremost troops, who immediately formed in the Desert, about three leagues from Alexandria.”

## CHAPTER XXV.

*Motives which induced the Invasion of Egypt by Buonaparté.—Louis Buonaparté's Letter to his Brother Joseph, detailing the taking of Alexandria.—Buonaparté's Proclamation to the People of Egypt.—His Invocation to Fortune on his landing.—The French harassed by the Bedouins.—Conduct of the Cheriff of Coraim.—Animadversion on Berthier's Account of the Arabians.—Buonaparté's Orders to the People of Alexandria.—Proclamation to the Egyptians.—Desaix arrives at Demenhur.—Fatigues and Dangers of the Troops from the Mamelukes.*

IT would be a waste of time to enter into a detail of all the military arrangements that have been pompously given by some French writers, as preparatory to the attack upon Alexandria. No such preparations were necessary; the fortresses were in ruins, and the people, unconscious of having any enemy to fear, wholly unprepared to defend themselves. When Berthier talks of his soldiers as "brave men," who were "eager to anticipate the hostile dispositions of the inhabitants," he derogates from the respectability of his own character, and places himself in the light of an accomplice, with a captain of a band of freebooters, rather than the companion of a great General. What he calls "anticipation," was, in fact, *provocation* of the hostile disposition of the inhabitants, and there cannot be the smallest affinity to bravery in that breast which would traverse the ocean for the purpose of seeking a quarrel, which it

might wholly avoid by remaining at home. It was not bravery, but cowardice, that led on the invasion of Egypt, as well as Malta, and of many other places that have been invaded by Buonaparté. Attack this power, because it is weak, and leave that power, because it is strong, is a policy so predominant in the mind of every *leading* Frenchman, that he betrays it in every syllable he utters, and every act he performs. That this was the feeling by which Buonaparté was actuated, at the moment of which we are speaking, is acknowledged by Berthier himself, and it was a principle so perfectly established amongst them, that he states it without being aware of his indiscretion in so doing. "Buonaparté," he says, "*hastened to fly from the English*:" Why? because they were a match for him; and he hastened *to fly upon* the Egyptians: Why? because they were not a match for him. Well, then, these people being incapable of defending themselves, Buonaparté attacked them, overcame them by numbers, and subdued them.

The account of the first proceedings, as given by Louis Buonaparté, the person who is now styled King of Holland, in a letter to his brother Joseph, dated Alexandria, July 6, so plainly proves the defenceless state of the people; at the same time that it is less bombastic than other French accounts, that we shall give his narrative:

"At break of day on the 2d we invested Alexandria, after driving into the town several small detachments of cavalry. The enemy defended themselves like men\*; the artillery which they planted

\* Yet those tender-hearted Frenchmen, who came to visit them in pure friendship, to introduce liberty and happiness amongst them, could not be restrained from pil-

on the walls was wretchedly served, but their musketry was excellent. These people have no idea of children's play; they either kill, or are killed. The first inclosure, however, that is to say, that of the city of the Arabs, was carried; and, soon after the second, in spite of the fire from the houses. The forts, which are on the coast on the other side of the city, were then invested; and in the evening capitulated.

“ Since the 2d of July we have been engaged in disembarking the troops, the artillery, and the baggage. General Defaix is at Demanhur, on the Nile; the rest of the army is to follow him.

“ The place where we disembarked is about two leagues from hence, at the tower of Marabout, or the *Iles des Arabes*. The two first days we had a number of stragglers cut off by the Arab and Mameluke cavalry. I imagine that we have lost about 100 killed, and as many wounded. The Generals Kleber, Menou, and Lasalle, are wounded.

“ I send you the Proclamation to the inhabitants of the country, which has produced an effect altogether astonishing. The Bedouins, enemies of the Mamelukes, and who, properly speaking, are neither more nor less than intrepid robbers, sent us back, as soon as they had read it, 30 of our people, whom they had made prisoners, with an offer of their services against the Mamelukes. We have treated them kindly: they are an invincible people, inhabiting a burning desert, mounted on the fleetest

laging the city, and massacring its inhabitants, during the space of four hours, until, in the *polite* and inoffensive language of Berthier, “ a great slaughter took place.”

horses in the world, and full of courage: they live with their wives and children in flying camps, which are never pitched two nights together in the same place. They are horrible savages, and yet they have some notion of gold and silver; a small quantity of it serves to excite their admiration. Yes, my dear brother, they love gold; they pass their lives in extorting it from such Europeans as fall into their hands; and for what purpose:—for continuing the course of life which I have described, and for teaching it to their children. O, Jean Jacques! why was it not thy fate to see those men, whom thou call’st “the men of nature?” thou would’st sink with shame, thou would’st startle with horror at the thought of having once admired them!

“Adieu, my dear brother, let me hear from you soon. I suffered a great deal on our passage; this climate kills me; we shall be so altered that you will discover the change at a league’s distance.

“The remarkable objects here are, Pompey’s column, the obelisks of Cleopatra, the spot where her baths once stood, a number of ruins, a subterraneous temple, some catacombs, mosques, and a few churches. But what is still more remarkable, is the character and manners of the inhabitants: they are of a *sang-froid* absolutely astonishing: nothing agitates them; and death itself is to them, what a voyage to America is to the English.

“Their exterior is imposing: the most marked physiognomies amongst us are mere children’s countenances compared to theirs. The women wrap themselves up in a piece of cloth, which passes over their heads, and descends in front to the eyebrows: the poorer sort cover the whole of their face with linen,



leaving only two small apertures for the eyes; so that, if this strange veil happens to be a little shrivelled, or stained, they look like so many hobgoblins.

“ Their forts and their artillery are the most ridiculous things in nature: they have not even a lock, nor a window to their houses; in a word, they are still involved in all the blindness of the earliest ages.

“ Oh! how many misanthropes would be converted, if chance should conduct them into the midst of the Deserts of Arabia!”

Buonaparté, on establishing his head quarters at Alexandria, issued the following

## PROCLAMATION

IN THE ARABIC LANGUAGE.

“ In the name of God, gracious and merciful.—There is no God but God; he has no Son or associate in his kingdom.

“ The present moment, which is destined for the punishment of the Beys, has been long anxiously expected. The Beys, coming from the mountains of Georgia and Bajars, have desolated this beautiful country, long insulted and treated with contempt the French nation, and oppressed her merchants in various ways. Bonaparté, the General of the French Republic, according to the principles of liberty, is now arrived; and the Almighty, the Lord of both worlds, has sealed the destruction of the Beys,

“ Inhabitants of Egypt! When the Beys tell you the French are come to destroy your religion, believe them not: it is an absolute falsehood. Answer those deceivers, that they are only come to rescue the rights of the poor from the hands of their tyrants, and that the French adore

the Supreme Being, and honour the Prophet and his holy Koran.

“ All men are equal in the eyes of God : understanding, ingenuity, and science, alone make a difference between them : as the Beys, therefore, do not possess any of these qualities, they cannot be worthy to govern the country.

“ Yet are they the only possessors of extensive tracts of lands, beautiful female slaves, excellent horses, magnificent palaces ! Have they then received an exclusive privilege from the Almighty ? if so, let them produce it. But the Supreme Being, who is just and merciful towards all mankind, wills, that, in future, none of the inhabitants of Egypt shall be prevented from attaining to the first employments, and the highest honours.—The administration, which shall be conducted by persons of intelligence, talents, and foresight, will be productive of happiness and security. The tyranny and avarice of the Beys have laid waste Egypt, which was formerly so populous and well cultivated.

“ The French are true Mussulmen ! Not long since they marched to Rome, and overthrew the throne of the Pope, who excited the Christians against the professors of Islamism (the Mahometan religion). Afterwards they directed their course to Malta, and drove out the unbelievers, who imagined they were appointed by God to make war on the Mussulmen. The French have at all times been the true and sincere friends of the Ottoman Emperors, and the enemies of their enemies. May the empire of the Sultan, therefore, be eternal ; but may the Beys of Egypt, our opposers, whose insatiable avarice has continually excited disobedience and insubordination, be trodden in the dust, and annihilated !

“ Our friendship shall be extended to those of the inhabitants of Egypt who shall join us, as also to those who shall remain in their dwellings, and observe a strict neutrality ; and, when they have seen our conduct with their own eyes, hasten to submit to us ; but the dreadful pu-

nishment of death awaits those who shall take up arms for the Beys, and against us: for them there shall be no deliverance, nor shall any trace of them remain.

Article I. All places which shall be three leagues distant from the route of the French army shall send one of their principal inhabitants to the French General, to declare that they submit, and will hoist the French flag, which is blue, white, and red.

II. Every village which shall oppose the French army shall be burned to the ground.

III. Every village which shall submit to the French shall hoist the French flag, and that of the Sublime Porte, their ally, whose duration be eternal.

IV. The Cheiks and principal persons of each town and village, shall seal up the houses and effects of the Beys, and take care that not the smallest article shall be lost.

V. The Cheiks, Cadis, and Imans, shall continue to exercise their respective functions; and put up their prayers, and perform the exercise of religious worship in the mosques and houses of prayer. All the inhabitants of Egypt shall offer up thanks to the Supreme Being, and put up public prayers for the destruction of the Beys.

“ May the Supreme God make the glory of the Sultan of the Ottomans eternal! pour forth his wrath on the Mamelukes, and render glorious the destiny of the Egyptian nation.

Buonaparté professes to rely upon the infidel's deity, Fortune; “ Wilt thou, oh Fortune!” exclaimed he, when hurrying on shore, for fear of the English fleet: “ wilt thou, oh Fortune! abandon me now! I ask only five days, and then do thy worst: Yet (like some very sagacious believers, who, whilst they place all their faith in Providence, think it good policy to stimulate the tardy steps of that Providence by the powerful aid of their own thrift) Buonaparté thought it prudent to have “ two strings to his bow;” and it

appears, by the Proclamation, that he called in the aid of Hypocrisy. It should seem, on first comparing this Proclamation with the Letter to the Bishop of Malta, that the dissimulation was too gross to have been read without disgust, even by those Frenchmen who were interested in its consequences: but such seems to be the effect of power, that the crimes of men in authority not only pass unobserved, but even find apologists. The Bedouins alluded to by Louis received some presents from this general at their departure; and the Cheriff Coraim, when he saw himself surrounded by thirty thousand Frenchmen and a formidable train of artillery, professed himself disinclined to make any resistance: yet, when the Bedouins got away, they robbed every Frenchman they met with; and, after the Cheriff had been *honoured by Buonaparté with a tri-coloured scarf*, he was traitor enough to keep up a correspondence with some of his old friends, the Mamelukes in the country, (although they had received no scarves) merely because they had been the companions of his childhood and he had no quarrel with them. Denon can trace no other motive for this conduct than the habitual dissimulation of a savage mind; and Berthier affects to regard it with so much astonishment that he concludes this tale with an apostrophe: "Such are the Arabians!" Yet a very slight acquaintance with the principles of justice, and a single moment's reflection, would have convinced both Denon and Berthier, that if dissimulation was an evidence of a savage mind, or if barbarity proved the existence of dissimulation, the Cheriffs, the Arabians, the Beys, and the Mamelukes, had seen enough of both in the invasion of their country, without any cause of quarrel, to have given

them the most utter contempt of Buonaparté and his followers, and to have left them no other exclamation than, "Such are Frenchmen!"

By the combined operation of fraud and force Buonaparté established himself at Alexandria, as he had done before at Malta; and it will appear, by the following Orders of the day, that the delicacy of his justice was precisely that of an insolent conqueror and an arrogant tyrant.

### ORDERS.

**BONAPARTE**, *Member of the National Institute, Commander in Chief.*

Head Quarters, Alexandria, July 3.

**Article I.** All the people of Alexandria, of what nation soever they may be, shall be obliged, twenty-four hours after the publication of the present order, to deposit, in a place marked out by the commander of the town, all their fire-arms. The mustis, the imans, and the cheiks, alone shall be permitted to keep their arms, and to bear them.

**II.** All the inhabitants of Alexandria, of what nation soever they may be, shall be obliged to wear the tri-coloured cockade. The mustis alone shall have the privilege of wearing a tri-coloured shawl. The Commander in Chief, however, reserves to himself the right of granting the same favour to such of the Cheiks as shall distinguish themselves by their knowledge, their prudence, and their virtue.

**III.** The troops shall pay military honour to every one who, in consequence of the preceding article, shall wear a tri-coloured shawl; and whenever such persons shall visit the superior officer, or any of the constituted authorities, they shall be received with all the respect which is due to them.

**IV.** Foreign agents, to what power so ever they may belong, are expressly prohibited from displaying their flags on their terraces. The consuls alone shall have the pri-

vilege of writing over their doors the nature of their employ : “ Consul of ——— ”

V. The present order shall be translated, without delay, into Arabic, and communicated to the most distinguished inhabitants, The Cheriff shall have it proclaimed through the town, that every one may be obliged to conform to it.

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

Having taken up the idea of the inhabitants and people being only barbarians and savages, Buonaparté took care to treat them as persons too ignorant to exercise any of the reasoning faculties: the next Proclamation calls upon them for the most implicit reliance on his honour and friendship, in the very Paper which acknowledges him the ally of the Grand Seignior, whose territories he had thus wrested from him!

**BONAPARTE**, *Member of the National Institute, Commander in Chief.*

Alexandria, July the 6th Year of the Republic One  
and Indivisible, the of the Month of Muharrem, the Year of the Hegira 1213.

“ For a long time the Beys, who govern Egypt, have insulted the French nation, and covered her merchants with injuries : the hour of their chastisement is come.

“ For too long a time this rabble of slaves, purchased in Caucasus and in Georgia, has tyrannised over the fairest part of the world ; but God, on whom everything depends, has decreed that their empire shall be no more.

“ People of Egypt! you will be told that I am come to destroy your religion ; do not believe it: reply, That I am come to restore your rights, to punish usurpers ; and that I reverence, more than the Mamelukes themselves, God his prophet Mahomet, and the Koran :

“ Tell them, that all men are equal before God ; wisdom, talents, and virtue, are the only things which make a difference between them :

“ Now, what wisdom, what talents, what virtues, have the Mamelukes, that they should boast the exclusive possession of everything that can render life agreeable ?

“ If Egypt is their farm, let them shew the lease which God has given them of it : but God is just and merciful to the people.

“ All the Egyptians shall be appointed to all the public situations : the most wise, the most intelligent, and the most virtuous, shall govern ; and the people shall be happy.

“ There were formerly among you great cities, great canals, and a great commerce : what has destroyed them all ? what, but the avarice, the injustice, and the tyranny of the Mamelukes ?

“ Cadis ! Cheiks ! Imans ! Tchorbadgis ! tell the people that we are the friends of the true Mussulmen : is it not us who have destroyed the Pope ; who said that it was necessary to make war on Mussulmen ! Is it not us who have destroyed the Knights of Malta, because these madmen believed that it was the good pleasure of God that they should make war on Mussulmen ? Is it not us who have been, in all ages, the friends of the Grand Seignior, (on whose desires be the blessing of God ! ) and the enemy of his enemies ? and, on the contrary, have not the Mamelukes always revolted against the authority of the Grand Seignior ? which they refuse to recognise at this moment.

“ Thrice happy those who shall be with us ! they shall prosper in their fortune and their rank : happy those who shall be neutral ! they shall have time to know us thoroughly, and they will range themselves on our side :

“ But woe ! woe ! woe ! to those who shall take up arms in favour of the Mamelukes, and combat against us ! there shall be no hope for them : they shall all perish !”

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

A true copy. (Signed) BERTHIER.

To secure every possible advantage it was necessary to profit by that terror which the French arms had

inspired, and to march immediately against the Mamelukes, before they should have time to arrange a system of attack or defence: with this view the General ordered Defaix, who had arrived with his division, to take with him two field-pieces that were landed, and to proceed, without delay, through the Desert, on the route to Cairo; that general, accordingly, on the 6th, arrived at Demenhur, after being harassed by the Arabs, who skirmished with the advanced guards; no one could stir from their columns: Defaix was nearly taken prisoner not more than fifty paces in the rear; and Le Meriar, having wandered from his place through absence of mind, fell a sacrifice within one hundred paces of the advanced guard. Within a few yards of the troops, by passing a ravin, Delanau, an adjutant, was made prisoner; and the Arabs settled a quarrel, that had arisen amongst themselves about sharing the ransom, by blowing out his brains! Here the Mamelukes, who had been seen on a reconnoitering party at Demenhur, presented themselves in front of the army: these horsemen, always looking on infantry with contempt, retired, and, certain of victory, ceased to harass a march, which in itself, and under a burning sun, gave nothing but hunger and thirst, which the delusive appearance of the soil much heightened: the soldiers cried for bread, while the dazzling sunbeams, playing on a sandy soil, displayed a resemblance to water so exact as to deceive, not only the stranger, but those who had before witnessed the same phenomenon.



## CHAPTER XXVI.

*Buonaparté arranges the Debarkation of the Remainder of the Troops, and directs the March of the various Divisions.—The main Army leaves Alexandria.—Is harassed in its march by the Arabs.—Battle with the Mamelukes at Chebreisse.—Violence of the French in Egypt.—Massacre at Salmia.—Buonaparté's Engagements with the Mamelukes near the Pyramids.—Retreat of Murad Bey.—Buonaparté enters Cairo.*

**BUONAPARTE** having established a Divan, and appointed General Kleber, Commandant at Alexandria, gave orders that the transport vessels should come into the port of that city, and immediately proceed to land the horses, provisions, and everything with which they were laden, for the use of the expedition: the utmost diligence was used on this occasion, as well by night, as by day. The port not being capable of admitting the ships of war, they remained at anchor in the road, at some distance, which circumstance rendered the landing of the battering cannon a work of great difficulty.

Buonaparté settled with Admiral Brueys, that the fleet should anchor at Aboukir, where the road is good, and the landing easy; and whence a communication might be kept open with Rosetta, as well as with Alexandria; at the same time he ordered the Admiral to cause the channel of the old port of Alexandria to be carefully sounded and examined, his intention being that the squadron should afterwards, if possible, enter it; or, in case it was found

impracticable, that it should proceed to Corfu. Every consideration required that the debarkation should be as speedily completed as possible; the English might suddenly present themselves, the squadron, therefore, could not be too soon freed from the incumbrances of the expedition: it was also essential to march against Cairo to prevent the Mamelukes destroying or removing the magazines, and for this purpose also, it was necessary, as expeditiously as possible, to land the troops requisite for such an operation. During these proceedings, Buonaparté inspected the town and fortifications; he gave orders for the erection of new works, and took every measure that tended in a civil, as well as a military point of view, to ensure the tranquility and defence of the city: and, finally, he arranged everything, so that the troops intended for the purpose were soon enabled to march.

Two routes lead from Alexandria to Cairo, the first is through the Desert, by Damanhour; to proceed by the second, it is necessary to arrive at Rosetta, by the seaside, and crossing at the distance of a league from Aboukir, a strait of about 200 toises wide, which joins the lake Madie to the sea; but to go by this route, for which they were entirely unprepared, would necessarily retard the progress of the army. Nevertheless, Buonaparté caused a small flotilla to be prepared, which he intended should proceed up the Nile. This flotilla was commanded by Citizen Perree, Chief of Division, and consisted of seven small sloops, three gun-boats, and a xebeck, which would have been a considerable assistance to the army, had the route of Rosetta been taken, in carrying the baggage, and provisions of the troops, and

co-operating with them on all occasions: but the French had not yet taken possession of Rosetta, and in proceeding by that route Buonaparté would have retarded the progress of the army to Cairo, at least eight or ten days: he, therefore, determined to advance through the Defart, by Damanhour, and by this route General Defaix had been ordered to proceed.

The division of Kleber, commanded by General Dugua, received orders to proceed, together with the dismounted cavalry, to the mouth of the Nile, in order to cover the entrance of the French flotilla into that river; the general was also instructed to take possession of Rosetta, to establish therein a provisional divan, to leave a garrison in the place, to erect a battery at Lisbé, and to embark a quantity of rice in the flotilla: after which he was ordered to proceed towards Cairo, on the left bank of the Nile, in order to join the army near Rahmanieh, and the flotilla was to proceed up the river with all possible expedition.

The main army left Alexandria on the 6th and 7th of July: during their march they were greatly harassed by the Arabs, who had filled up all the wells at Beda and at Birkit; so that the soldiers, scorched by the heat of the sun, felt all the torments of a parching thirst, which they had no means of assuaging. The wells, which generally yield a little brackish water, were explored, but a little muddy water could alone be obtained, and, at the moment, a glass of the pure element would have sold for its weight in gold! The Arabs never appeared in great numbers, although many skirmishes took place, in one of which the general de brigade, Mireur, was mortally wounded.

On the 10th when the army was proceeding on its march for Ramanieh, the paucity of the wells obliged the divisions of Generals Menou, Regnier, and Bon, to halt. The soldiers soon discovered the Nile: accoutred as they were, they plunged in, and drank plentifully of a water, comparatively, delicious. But, speedily, the drums recalled them to their colours; a corps of about eight hundred Mamelukes were perceived approaching, in order of battle, the soldiers ran to their arms, the enemy retired, and took the route to Damanhour, where they encountered the division of General Desaix, who had not advanced; the discharge of cannon announced an action. Buonaparté instantly marched against the Mamelukes, but the artillery of General Desaix, had already compelled them to retreat; they were soon put to flight, leaving 40 men killed or wounded. Parmentier, of the 16th demi-brigade, was killed in this affair, as was one of the guides attached to the cavalry; ten of the infantry were slightly wounded. The troops exhausted by fatigue and privations, were greatly in want of repose; and the horses unavoidably harassed and enfeebled by the voyage, required it still more. These considerations induced Buonaparté to halt at Rahmanieh, the 11th and 12th, when he expected the flotilla, and the division under the command of General Dugua.

This General had taken possession of Rosetta without any obstacle, and, by forced marches, joined the army at the expected period. With respect to the flotilla, he announced, that it ascended the river with great difficulty, in consequence of the lowness of the water; however, it arrived on the night of the 24th, and, during the same night, the army set

out for Miniet-el-Sayd, where it rested; and the 13th, before day-break, it proceeded again on its march.

In the course of that day the Mamelukes, to the number of about 4,000, were discovered at the distance of a league: their right was covered by the village of Chebreisse, in which they placed some pieces of cannon, and also by the Nile, on which they had a flotilla, consisting of gun-boats and armed dgerms. Buonaparté ordered the French flotilla to continue its course, disposing itself so as to co-operate with the left of the army, and to engage the enemy's vessels, at the moment the former should attack the Mamelukes, and the village of Chebreisse. The violence of the wind deranged this plan: the flotilla passed the left of the army, and was driven nearly a league higher up, where it was compelled to engage at a great disadvantage, inasmuch as it had, at the same time, to sustain the fire of the Mamelukes, the Fellahs, (peasants or husbandmen) and the Arabs, and to defend itself against the enemy's flotilla.

A number of the Fellahs, led on by a party of Mamelukes, advanced into the river, and getting on board some dgerms, they possessed themselves of one galley, and a gun-boat. The commander, Perree, disposed his force so as to make a successful attack in his turn, and speedily retook the galley and the gun-boat. His xebeck, which on all sides dealt fire and death, prevented the recapture of those vessels, and destroyed several of the enemy's gun-boats: he was powerfully supported in this unequal contest by the coolness and intrepidity of General Andreoffy, and by the Citizens Monge, Berthollet, Junot, Payeur,

and Bourienne, secretary to Buonaparté, who were on board the xebec.

In the mean time, the noise of the artillery made known to Buonaparté that the flotilla was engaged; he marched the army *au pas de charge*, and, approaching Chebreisse, he perceived the Mamelukes ranged in order of battle in front of the village. The General in Chief reconnoitred the position, and immediately formed the army; it was composed of five divisions, each division formed a square, presenting at each side a front of six deep, the artillery was placed at the angles, and in the centre the cavalry and baggage. The grenadiers of each square formed platoons which flanked the divisions, and were intended to reinforce the points of attack. The miners, and those charged with the depot of artillery, posted and barricaded themselves in two villages in the rear, to secure places of retreat in case of that event. The Mamelukes, at this time, were not more than half a league from the army. Suddenly they advanced in crowds, without order or form, and wheeled about on the flanks and on the rear; other masses fell with impetuosity on the right and front of the army: they were suffered to approach until the grape-shot could effectually play upon them, when the artillery opened, and they were soon put to flight. Some of the bravest rushed, sabre in hand, upon the platoons on the flanks; the onset was received with firmness, and nearly the whole were killed by the fire of the small arms, or by the bayonet.

Emboldened by this success, the army advanced rapidly against the village of Chebreisse, which the

right wing was ordered to attack. This post was carried after a feeble resistance: the defeat of the Mamelukes was complete, they fled in disorder towards Cairo; their flotilla retreated up the Nile with all possible expedition. The loss of the Mamelukes exceeded 600 men, of whom more were killed than wounded; that of the French was about 70, besides the loss on board the flotilla.

The Commandant Perree, in his account of the affair says, "I had 20 of my men wounded and several killed. A ball struck my sword out of my hand, and carried away a piece of my left arm. I do not think, however, that it will be attended with any bad consequences; indeed, it is already nearly well.

"I cannot describe to you what we suffered in this expedition: we were reduced for several days to subsist entirely on water-melons, during which we were constantly exposed to the fire of the Arabs, although, with the exception of a few killed and wounded, we always came off victorious. The Nile is very far from answering the description I had received of it: it winds incessantly, and is withal very shallow."

There is, however, one circumstance that attended this skirmish, which none of the French writers like to mention; namely, that the Mamelukes accomplished their end by getting a temporary possession of the flotilla; for each carried off as much of the baggage as he could, and, when the gallant Frenchmen recovered their squadron, they found that they "had nothing left but what was on their backs!"

After the action was over Buonaparté ordered

the General of Brigade, Zayoncheck, to proceed, with about 500 dismounted cavalry, along the right bank of the Nile, in a route parallel to the march of the army, which advanced on the left bank. The 26th the army halted at Shabour, and on the 27th at Comscherif: it was incessantly harassed during the march, by the Arabs; it could not advance farther than the distance of a cannon shot without falling into an ambuscade. The assistant to the Adjutant Generals, Gallois, was killed while carrying an order from Buonaparté; the Adjutant Denano fell into the hands of the Arabs, and was killed. All communication, beyond 300 toises from the rear of the army was cut off: no intelligence, therefore, could be forwarded to or received from Alexandria.

All the villages at which the army arrived were abandoned; neither men nor cattle were to be seen: the soldiers lay upon heaps of corn, though they had no bread to eat, they were equally destitute of animal food, and subsisted only upon some lentils, and a kind of thin cakes, which the soldiers made themselves, by bruising the corn. The army continued its march towards Cairo, and on the 19th of July General Zayoncheck united with the main army, where the Nile divides itself into two branches, those of Rosetta, and Damietta.

It is hardly possible to trace the march of the French in Egypt without examining the truth of a frequently repeated observation, "that its progress was marked with blood." So many acrimonious remarks have been made by the different Belligerent Powers against each other, that the censures passed on either side should be received with great caution,



and it would be even better that *harsh truths* should be altogether rejected, than that one statement should be admitted, originating only in passion. The same caution is to be observed in admitting the panegyrics that have been passed upon the different parties by their several admirers: if that arose out of passion, these arise out of flattery, and neither are entitled to credit. In examining the question before us, the testimony of an Englishman may be doubted, if he takes the affirmative side; nor can that of a Frenchman be believed if he answers in the negative: it would be an extremely different thing if an Englishman were to appear on the negative side, for then he would adopt an argument against himself, and the candour he would display would demand confidence in return. Such being the fate that must attend the question were the fact contradicted by an Englishman, it is entitled to one directly opposite, if it be supported by an affirmative statement of a Frenchman. Thus posterity will doubtless judge; and as a very few ages will add all the inconveniencies arising out of distance of time, to those which we in this age feel to arise out of distance of place, it will only be by a comparison of isolated facts, that our successors will be able to form any opinion of those events. Having premised thus much, no apology can be required for introducing a single fact, as stated by M. Denon, without any comment: that traveller was deeply interested in the expedition; he was witness of the desolation which he relates: he was a Frenchman, and, in many instances, he is known to have put the most favourable construction upon the conduct of his countrymen; so

much so, that he could not think that they had been guilty of any crime in invading and pillaging these feeble tribes, without any previous cause of quarrel! The statement of M. Denon is, "That the people on the banks of the Nile, supposing that the French could not long maintain a footing in Egypt, against their all-powerful masters, allowed the army to proceed without molestation; but to ensure a peace with the Beys, when they should again be conquerors, and from habits of depredation, they often attacked and fired at boats going up the river with supplies for the soldiers. A boat with a few troops was sent up, and received assurances of fidelity, and hostages for their behaviour. A vessel, which set off for Cairo, was missing; and from the inhabitants themselves, it was, after some difficulty, discovered, that, being attacked a little above Fueh, or Fouah, the crew, all wounded, threw themselves into the river, and, having been forced on shore by the current, were made prisoners, and all of them shot at Salmia. An example was now necessary: 200 men were landed within a mile and a half of the village; one party proceeded to turn it, a second marched by the edge of the river, while the third, stationed six miles below, completely surrounded it. A charge was made by the enemy's cavalry in front of the village, and repulsed by the bayonet: their leading men fell by the first volley of the French, when the others got into confusion. The Cheik, and the few that survived, escaped, from the third detachment's having arrived too late to prevent their flight. Salmia was plundered the whole of the day; and at night the flames, with the firing of cannon without intermission, gave

to the surrounding country assurance of the certain destruction which such conduct would bring upon the inhabitants."

Previous to reaching Cairo Buonaparté learned that the two powerful Chiefs, Murad Bey and Ibrahim Bey, were likely to annoy his army greatly, and many severities were inflicted upon those Fellahs who were friendly to the Arabs, in order to deter them from strengthening the ranks of the Beys. On the 19th Murad Bey, at the head of 6,000 Mamelukes, and a host of Arabs and Fellahs, was entrenched at the village of Embaba, waiting for the French; and on the 22d Desaix, whose corps formed the advanced guard, arrived within two miles of the spot. The heat was intense, and the soldiers excessively fatigued, which induced Buonaparté to halt. But the Mamelukes no sooner perceived the army than they formed upon the plain, in front of his right: an appearance so imposing never yet presented itself to the French; the cavalry of the Mamelukes were covered with resplendent armour. Beyond their left were beheld the celebrated Pyramids, of which the imperishable mass has survived so many empires, and braved for more than thirty centuries the outrages of time! Behind their right was the Nile, the city of Cairo, the hills of Mokattam, and the fields of the ancient Memphis.

When Buonaparté had given his last orders, "Go," said he, pointing to the Pyramids, "and think, that, from the heights of those monuments, forty ages survey our conduct." The army, impatient to come to action, was soon ranged in order of battle; the disposition of the forces was similar

to that at the battle of Chebreisse. Buonaparté ordered the line to advance, but the Mamelukes, who, till then, appeared irresolute, prevented the execution of this movement; they made a feint against the centre, but rushed with impetuosity on the divisions of Defaix and Regnier, which formed the right: they intrepidly charged these columns, which, firm and immoveable, reserved their fire until the enemy advanced within half musket shot; the ill-directed valour of the Mamelukes in vain endeavoured to break through those walls of fire and ramparts of bayonets; their ranks were thinned, a great number of killed and wounded remained on the field, and they soon retired in disorder, without venturing to return the charge.

While the divisions of Generals Defaix and Regnier so successfully repulsed the Mameluke cavalry, the divisions of Bon and Menou, supported by that of Kleber, then under the command of General Dugua, advanced rapidly against the entrenched village of Embaba. Two battalions of the divisions of Bon and Menou were detached, with orders to turn the village, and, in the mean time, to take advantage of a deep ditch, that lay in the way, the better to defend themselves from the enemy's cavalry, and to conceal their movements towards the Nile. The divisions, preceded by their flank companies, rapidly advanced. The Mamelukes unsuccessfully attacked the platoons; they unmasked forty pieces of bad artillery, which they discharged upon them, but the divisions rushed forward with such impetuosity that the Mamelukes had not time to re-load their guns. The



*General Pequet*

*Engraving by J. B. H. 1800*



entrenchments were carried by the bayonet, and the camp, as well as the village of Embaba, were soon in the possession of the French. Fifteen hundred Mameluke cavalry, and an equal number of Fellahs, whose retreat were cut off by Generals Marmont and Rampon, occupied an entrenched position in the rear of a ditch that communicated with the Nile, and in vain performed prodigies of valour in their defence; they were unwilling to surrender, and none of them escaped the sanguinary fury of the French soldiers; they were all either put to the sword or drowned in the Nile. Forty pieces of cannon, 400 camels, the baggage, and the stores, fell into the hands of the victors.

Murad Bey, seeing the village of Embaba carried, attended only to his retreat: the divisions of Generals Defaix and Regnier had already compelled his cavalry to fall back: the army pursued the Mamelukes as far as Gaza, beyond which they continued their flight; and the French, after fighting, or marching and fighting nineteen hours, occupied a position at Gaza. Never was the superiority of modern European tactics over those of the Orientals, or disciplined courage over ill-directed valour more conspicuous, or more sensibly felt, than on that day. The Mamelukes were mounted on superb Arabian horses, richly caparisoned, their armour was magnificent, and their purses well stocked with gold; these spoils, in some degree, compensated the soldiers for the excessive fatigues they had undergone. During an interval of fifteen days, their only nourishment consisted of a few

vegetables, without bread; the provisions found in the camp, therefore, afforded them a delicious repast.

The division of General Desaix was ordered to take a position in front of Gaza, and on the route of Faium. The division of Menou passed, during the night, a branch of the Nile, and took possession of the Isle of Roda. The enemy in their flight, burned those vessels which could not speedily re-ascend the Nile. The following morning, on the 23d of July, the principal inhabitants of Cairo, presented themselves on the banks of the Nile, and offered to deliver up the city to the French: they were accompanied by the Kiaja of the Pacha, Ibrahim Bey, who had abandoned Cairo during the night, having carried off the Pacha with him. Buonaparté received them at Gaza, they required protection for the city, and engaged for its submission; he answered, that the wish of the French was to remain in amity with the Egyptian people and the Ottoman Porte, and assured them that the manners, the customs, and the religion of the country, should be scrupulously respected: they returned to Cairo, accompanied by a detachment under the command of a French officer. The populace took an advantage of the discomfiture and flight of the Mamelukes, and committed some excesses, the mansion of Murad Bey was pillaged and burned; but it was contrary to the principles of Buonaparté to suffer other persons to plunder, and order was restored in consequence of the proclamations that he issued, and the appearance of an armed force.

On the 26th of July Buonaparté removed his head quarters to Cairo: the divisions of Generals



Regnier and Menou were stationed at Old Cairo, the divisions of Bon and Kleber at Boulac, a corps of observation was placed on the route of Syria, and the division of Desaix was ordered to occupy an entrenched position, about three leagues, in front of Embaba, on the route to Upper Egypt.



## CHAPTER XXVII.

*Buonaparté sends natural Curiosities to Paris.—Buonaparté's Letters to Admiral Brueys and General Kleber.—His Orders for the provisional Organization of Egypt.—Rich Plunder of the Mamelukes.—Situation of the French in Egypt.—Scarcity of Water.—Letter of Admiral Brueys to the Minister of Marine.—The English Government send Sir Horatio Nelson in search of the French Expedition.—He, at length, discovers the French Fleet in Aboukir Bay.—Battle of the Nile.*

WHILST our recollection constantly suggests the immorality and dishonour of the expedition, it is impossible to withhold our admiration from the genius by which it was accomplished with such celerity and promptitude. Two months had barely elapsed between quitting the shores of France and the arrival at Cairo; and in this short space two states had been subdued, in defiance of the most powerful navy in the world, and of a combination of physical obstacles, such as no numerous body of men had ever dared to encounter before.

Established in the apparently quiet possession of Cairo, Buonaparté prepared to send his dispatches to the commanders at Alexandria and to Paris; and among the ridiculous characters that have been assumed by this philosophical General, it is not the least, that after introducing himself to the people as the High Priest of Liberty, his first act in that office was one, of the most unblushing despotism that

any unrestrained tyrant could have committed: it was a material object with the General to transport the rarities of Egypt to the Museum at Paris, and to gratify that passion, he ordered the Mamelukes, whom he had taken prisoners, to be transported in his first collection of natural curiosities to France.

## ARMY OF ENGLAND.

### TO ADMIRAL BRUEYS.

Head Quarters, Cairo, July 27.

"I send you, Citizen Admiral, some Mameluke prisoners, whose names are subjoined. You will have the goodness to receive them on board one of the ships of the squadron, and to send them to France by the first opportunity.

Health and fraternity.

ALEX. BERTHIER.

#### *Names of the Mameluke Prisoners.*

Haffan,	Mameluke.	Ibrahim,	Mameluke..
Hali,	id.	Murat,	id.
Murat,	id.	Soliman,	id.
Juseph,	id.	Hali,	id.
Acmet,	id.	Mahomet,	id.
Haly,	id.	Chahin,	id.

BONAPARTE, *Member of the National Institute, Commander in Chief, to Admiral BRUEYS.*

Head Quarters, Cairo, July 27.

"After a number of very fatiguing marches, and some fighting, we are, at length, arrived at Cairo. I am extremely well satisfied with the conduct of the Chief of Division, Perrée, and I have, therefore, promoted him to the rank of Rear Admiral.

"I hear, from Alexandria, that a channel, such as we

could wish, has been discovered; and by this time, I flatter myself, you are already in the port, with all your fleet.

“There is no occasion for you to be under any uneasiness with respect to the subsistence of your men. This country is rich in wheat, pulse, rice, and cattle, almost beyond imagination.

“I persuade myself, that to-morrow, or the day after at the farthest, I shall hear from you,—which I have not yet done since my departure from Alexandria.

“The instant you inform me what you have done, and in what situation you are, you shall receive further orders from me respecting what we have yet to do.

“Some of the staff-officers have, undoubtedly, given you an account of our late victory.

“I take it for granted that you have a frigate cruising off Damietta. As I am sending troops to take possession of that town, I must request you to order the captain of the frigate to keep as near the land as possible, and to open a communication with our forces, who will be in possession of the place by the time this reaches you.

“Send off the courier whom I have dispatched to you immediately: put him on shore wherever you think it best.—In this, you will, of course, be guided by what you hear of the enemy’s fleet, and by the winds which prevail at this season.

“I could wish that you would send him in a frigate, which should have positive orders to stay no longer than forty-eight hours in any port where she might land him (whether Malta or Ancona)—in this case you might charge the captain to bring us back all the journals, and all the information which our agents may have collected.

“I have dispatched, by the Nile, a prodigious quantity of provisions to Alexandria, to pay for the freight of the transports there.

“Say a thousand kind things to Ganteaume and Casabianca.

I salute you,

BONAPARTE.”

BONAPARTE, *Member of the National Institute, Commander in Chief, to the General of Division, KLEBER.*

Head Quarters, Cairo, July 27.

“CITIZEN GENERAL I

“There is here a very excellent mint: we shall again have occasion for all the ingots, which we left with the merchants of Alexandria, in exchange for the specie of the country; I request you, therefore, to call together all the merchants with whom the said ingots were exchanged, and to re-demand them. I will give them, in lieu of the bullion, wheat and rice, of which we have immense quantities.

“Our poverty in specie is equal to our riches in commodities: this circumstance absolutely compels me to take as many ingots as possible from the merchants, and to give them corn, &c. in exchange.

“I have heard nothing from you since I left Alexandria: you have, doubtless, had many idle rumours, and alarms. I have sent you several letters by the people of the country, which I fear have been intercepted by the Arabs, as has most probably been the case with those which you have sent me. I am now all impatience to hear from you; as you have undoubtedly by this time, received intelligence from France.

“We have undergone more hardships than many among us had courage to support: at present, we are recovering ourselves a little at Cairo, which is not deficient in supplies. All our troops have joined.

“The Officers of the staff will have acquainted you with the military transaction, which preceded our entry into this place: it was tolerably brilliant. Two thousand of the best mounted Mamelukes were driven into the Nile.

“The army is in the greatest want of its baggage: I have dispatched the Adjutant-General Almeyras with a battalion of the 85th, and an immense quantity of provi-

sions for the fleet, to Rosetta: he is commissioned, on his return, to take on board his flotilla all the baggage, &c. of the army, and to escort it to Cairo.

“Order the Staff Officers of the different corps, charged with the care of the magazines, to send them all to Rosetta.

“Send us our Arabic and French printing presses. See that they embark all the wine, brandy, tents, shoes, &c. Send round all these articles by sea to Rosetta: and, as the Nile is now upon its increase, they will find no difficulty in passing up that river to Cairo.

“I am anxious to hear of your health; I hope it will be speedily re-established, and that you will be soon in a condition to come and join us.

“I have written to Louis, to set out for Rosetta immediately, with all my baggage.

“Since I wrote this, I have found, in a garden belonging to one of the Mamelukes, a letter from Louis—this convinces me that one of your couriers has been intercepted by these people.

Health,

BONAPARTE.”

BONAPARTE, *Member of the National Institute, Commander in Chief, to the General of Division, KLEBER.*

Head Quarters, Cairo, July 27.

“Annexed to this, Citizen General, you will find a copy of the provisional organization of Egypt.

“You will name the Divan, the Aga, and the company of 60 men, which he is to have with him.

“You will cause an inventory to be taken of all the goods, moveables and immoveables, which belonged to the Mamelukes: the Intendant, and the French Agent are on the point of repairing to their posts.

“You will order a general levy of horses to be made, to remount the cavalry.

“I entreat you to take every precaution to preserve tranquillity and good order in the province of Alexandria.

Health,

BONAPARTE.”

ORDERS.

Of BONAPARTE, *Member of the National Institute,  
Commander in Chief.*

Head Quarters, Cairo, July 27.

Article I. There shall be in each province of Egypt a Divan, composed of seven persons, charged to watch over the interests of the province, to inform me of every grievance, to prevent the contests which arise between the different villages, to keep a steady eye over the turbulent and seditious, to punish them by calling in the military force under the French Commander, and to enlighten the people as often as it shall be found requisite.

II. There shall be in each province an Aga of the Janisaries, who shall constantly reside with the French Commandant: he shall have with him a company of armed men, natives of the country, with whom he shall proceed wherever his services may be necessary to maintain good order, and to keep every one in tranquillity and obedience.

III. There shall be in every province an Intendant, charged with the collection of the *Miri* and the *Feddam*; and generally of all the revenues which belonged heretofore to the Mamelukes, and which appertain at present to the Republic. He shall have with him the necessary number of agents.

IV. There shall always be with the said Intendant a French Agent, for the purpose of corresponding with the Administrator of the Finances, for insuring the execution of such orders as he may receive, and for acquiring a perfect knowledge of the system of administration.

A true copy.

(Signed)

BONAPARTE.

In explanation of these letters, it is necessary to observe, that the ingots alluded to were formed of the plunder taken at Malta, which had been left with

General Kleber at Alexandria, to pay the transports hired in France and elsewhere, to serve in the expedition. The new plunder, now found in the barns and granaries of the Egyptians, was less valuable to the General, and, therefore, he chose to pay for those services in kind, instead of in money: if any credit can be given to the assertion in the letter to General Kleber, that Cairo possessed a very good mint, but very little money, we think it utterly incompatible with another declaration of his, in his dispatches to the Directory, in which he says "that the Mamelukes shewed great bravery: they defended their fortunes, for there was not one of them on whom our soldiers did not find, three, four, or five hundred Louis!"

The earnest manner in which the General writes for a supply of necessary articles is a pretty strong proof of all the baggage having been taken by the Mamelukes from on board the flotilla; but, if any doubt upon that subject should remain, it can hardly survive the complaints contained in the letter of Captain Gay to his parents.

### TRANSLATION.

Cairo (9 Thermidor), July 27.

"DEAR FATHER AND MOTHER,

"I have not been able to send you a line since my embarkation, on account of the difficulty attending the couriers. The letter which I wrote you from Toulon was, I take it for granted, duly received.

"I would willingly give you a detailed account of every thing which has passed since our leaving that part; but I must content myself at present, with a general and cursory view.

"Our campaign opened with the capture of Malta;



after which we continued our route towards Egypt. The disembarkation was made at Alexandria, and cost us a number of brave men, who perished under the walls of that ancient city. From thence the whole army marched, in five divisions, for Grand Cairo, where we arrived with the utmost difficulty, after suffering everything that was possible for man to suffer. You will shudder at reading what follows: we marched seventeen days without bread, wine, or brandy; and five without water, over burning sands, with the enemy close at our heels I figure to yourselves that we had to combat barbarians, wholly unacquainted with the rights of war, who exercised every species of cruelty upon the unhappy men who fell into their hands: cutting off the ears of one, the nose of another, the head of a third, and many other things which have flipt my memory, and which I tremble whenever I think of.

Would you believe, that *for seventeen days, we had nothing to subsist on but water melons!* Such, however, is the fact, and in consequence of it, an infinite number of the troops died of thirst and hunger! We could not expect any succour from the natives of these countries, seeing they are savages, who murdered us within half a musket-shot of our own columns\*.

“In spite of the number of poor wretches who dropt from mere weakness, we were obliged to continue our march in close order, because the enemy’s cavalry took advantage of the slightest confusion in our ranks to fall upon us; and always with considerable effect. Night and day we were under arms, so that our fatigues were altogether intolerable. Discontent was painted on every face, and the whole army was on the point of refusing to advance. A great number of soldiers blew out their brains, and many flung themselves into the Nile. Horrible things

\* If the Arabs were guilty of these cruelties, it was not until those practised by the French themselves drove them to the necessity; for both Denon and Berthier acknowledge, that, shortly after the first skirmishes at Alexandria, they returned the prisoners they had captured *unhurt!*

were done ! Add, that in this dreadful interval, we had many battles to fight ; all of which, however, we gained.

“ Arrived, at length, in the neighbourhood of Grand Cairo, we found the Mamelukes awaiting our arrival in an entrenched camp. In spite of all the obstacles which stood in the way of our success they were totally defeated. Three thousand of them perished, either by our fire or in the river ; for we did not make a single prisoner. I must observe to you that ours was the only division which was engaged, and that it consisted of no more than 5,000 men. The 18th and 32d acquired new glory in this famous battle, which we now call “ The Battle of the Pyramids.”

“ If we have the happiness of returning speedily to France I will exert myself to the utmost to obtain my discharge at any price whatever. I can no longer endure this accursed business ; always hazarding my life, and at every hour of the day !—For the rest, I think I have done my part ; let every one do a little.—I am no longer greedy of glory ; I was once, I confess, because it was necessary to be so,—at present, my only wish is to pass my life in peace with you ; this is the sole object of my ambition. Some hopes of an approaching promotion are held out to me, but I want none of it. I have seen service in Europe, but I have no desire of seeing it in Africa, and in a country so hot as this.

“ Let me hear from you.—I please myself with thinking that the present will find you in good health ; as to my own, it is excellent. The sea has been of infinite use to me : all my comrades are astonished at my being able to endure so many hardships in a climate, where the surface of the ground burns like fire !

“ I conclude, with embracing you with all my heart ; being, with respect,

Your Son,

GAY, Capt.

To this testimony of the wretched state of the army, might be added many others yet stronger, contained

in the intercepted correspondence; but as M. Denon has told the world that these letters ought to be discredited (not as being fabrications,) but because they were written by mere *petit maîtres* and speculators, who followed the army either to take their pleasure or to get rich: this letter alone is given, as containing the sentiments of an officer who had served long in the French armies, and never shrunk from the hardships of ordinary warfare.

After Buonaparté had quitted Alexandria, General Kleber was principally occupied in procuring military supplies, and providing for the sick, both of which duties were attended with much difficulty, as the want of water was so greatly felt that Alexandria was obliged to be supplied from Rosetta with that indispensable article. Le Roy, the Commissary of the Marine, and every other officer employed in the victualling service, complain of the pains and trouble it cost to do the most trifling thing. Kleber attributed these obstacles to the intrigues of the inhabitants, as well as to the hostility of the new Divan; and, in a fit of ill-humour for some of these appointments, he caused the old Cheriff, Coraim, to be arrested, and sent as a prisoner on board the *l'Orient*; but the Commissary, in a letter to Admiral Brueys, declares, that it was owing to the impossibility of finding *schermes* (lighters) enough at Rosetta to convey a sufficient quantity of water and provisions to supply the fleet alone; until the 29th of July only five of those vessels had been procured, and the demand of the fleet could not be supplied until a further number could be procured from Damietta.

Without water the Admiral could do little else than

labour to procure it; yet he did not neglect the best means that the circumstances afforded him of providing for the security of his fleet.

In a letter to Bruix, the Minister of the Marine, he says,

“ I disembarked all the troops, and the baggage belonging to them, and on the 7th, having satisfied myself that our ships of war could not get into the port for want of a sufficient depth of water at the entrance, I ordered the Venetian ships\*, and the transports, to come to an anchor there, and stood off, with the thirteen sail of the line and the three frigates, with an intent of mooring in the Bay of Bequiers.

“ I arrived there in the afternoon, and formed a line of battle at two-thirds of a cable length, the headmost vessel being as close as possible to a shoal to the North-west of us, and the rest of the fleet forming a kind of curve along the line of deep water, so as not to be turned, by any means, in the South-west. This position is the strongest we could possibly take in an open road, where we cannot approach sufficiently near the land to be protected by batteries, and where the enemy has it in his power to choose his own distance.

“ Our troops entered Rosetta, and the army is now in full march for Cairo.

“ We have pushed into this branch of the Nile as many of our light vessels as possible; and the Commander in Chief has asked me for the Chief of Division, Perrée, to command them. The flotilla sailed this morning to try if it be possible to get over the bar of Rosetta. You see that we are marching to the conquest of Egypt with the steps of a giant.

\* Le Dubois and le Cauße, of 64 guns each, and two or three frigates which sailed with the expedition, besides the French naval force.

“ It is vexatious that there is not a port where a fleet can enter; but the Old Port, of which we have heard so much, is shut up by a reef of rocks, some under, and some above water, forming a number of narrow channels, where the depth is only from 23 to 25 and 30 feet. The sea, too, is commonly very high: thus you see, that one of our seventy-fours would be in no small danger there, especially as she would inevitably go to pieces in a few minutes after touching the ground.

“ To gratify the wishes of the Commander in Chief, I have offered a reward of 10,000 livres to any pilot of the country who will undertake to carry the squadron in; but none of them will venture to take charge of a single vessel that draws more than twenty feet. I hope, however, that we shall succeed in finding a channel by which our seventy-fours may enter; but this can only be the result of many laborious and painful experiments.

“ I have already engaged two intelligent officers in this business; Captain Barré, commanding, at present, the *Alceste*, and Citizen Vidal, first lieutenant: if they find a channel, they will buoy it for us; and then we may enter without much danger. The depth within the recess increases to fifteen fathoms, but the getting out of the harbour will, in all cases, be very difficult, and very tedious; so that a squadron would engage to a vast disadvantage.

“ I have heard nothing further of the English: they are gone, perhaps, to look for us on the coast of Syria; or rather (and this is my private opinion) they have not so many as fourteen sail of the line; and, finding themselves not superior in numbers, do not think it quite so prudent to try their strength with us.

“ We look forward with the greatest anxiety to the time when the conquest of Egypt shall furnish us with provisions. We are now obliged to supply the troops continually—every hour new drains are made upon us. We have now only fifteen days biscuit on board; and we are

in this anchorage just as if we were on the high seas—consuming everything, and replacing nothing.

“ Our crews are weak both in number and quality ; our rigging, in general, out of repair ; and I am sure that it requires no little courage to undertake the management of a fleet furnished with such tools.

“ I do not think it necessary to enter into any further details on our present situation : you are a seaman, and will, therefore, conceive it better than I can describe it to you.

“ Before I conclude, I will transcribe a paragraph from a letter which I have just received from the Commander in Chief :

“ I have asked of the Executive Directory the rank of Rear-admiral for your Chief of the Staff, Ganteaume : I beseech you to appoint him. I have sought by this to give a proof of my gratitude and esteem for the essential services, the activity, and the zeal manifested by your staff officers, and, generally speaking, the whole Squadron, in executing the orders of the Government.

(Signed) “ BONAPARTE.”

Health and respect.

BRUEYS.

No opinion could be more erroneous than the one suggested by the French Admiral relative to the disposition of the English :—That he had been suffered to reach the place of his destination, to land an army on a distant shore, and to ride thirty long days at anchor in an open bay, was neither owing to any forbearance on the part of the British navy nor to any disinclination to hazard all the consequences of a rencountre ; but was alone to be attributed to a want of intelligence, which left the English Admiral to hunt after his enemy before he could find him.

Rear Admiral Nelson was already in the Mediter-

ranean, commanding a flying squadron, having his flag hoisted on board the Vanguard, but his force was by no means equal to a contest with the powerful armament under Admiral Brueys: he was reinforced, however, by Captain Trowbridge with ten sail of the line, the instant that the French expedition was known not to have bent its course for Ireland. Sir Horatio Nelson proceeded, therefore, in quest of the enemy, with a fleet consisting of thirteen seventy-four line of battle ships, and one fifty-gun ship.

Having repaired to the neighbourhood of Naples for information, he directed his course from thence towards Sicily: he there heard of the surrender of Malta, and immediately took on board expert pilots, and was the first commander who ever passed the Straits of Messina with a fleet of men of war.

He now learned, that, after staying no more than a week, the French had left Malta: he instantly steered for Candia, and, being assured that they were actually destined for Egypt, he sailed thither, and arrived at the mouth of the Nile three days before Buonaparté. After consulting the English Consul, he supposed his former information to be false: he repaired to Rhodes, and actually passed Buonaparté's fleet in the fog, while they were lying-to for the convoy: thence he returned to Sicily, and in the Bay of Syracuse procured various supplies and assistance, of which his squadron stood in need.

In a few days the English Admiral again sailed in search of the French expedition, and being positively informed that it had arrived in Egypt some time before, he once more steered for Alexandria.

and congratulated himself, as he approached the coast, on beholding the object of his desire. He discovered thirteen line of battle ships laying at anchor, with one 48-gun, one 44-gun, and two 36-gun frigates. One ship, *l'Orient*, with the flag of Admiral Bruix, carried 120 guns; three others carried 80 guns each, and each of the remaining nine ships carried 74 guns.

History had already celebrated the position thus occupied by the French: in that very place had the famous combat between Augustus Cæsar and Marc Antony, nineteen hundred years ago, decided the empire of the world. History will again have to record a spectacle almost as important—a naval battle between the fleets of two of the most powerful states of the civilized world, on which depended their maritime superiority, the renewal of a bloody war on the European Continent, and the eventual conquest of Egypt by the forces of that power by whom it was invaded.

Admiral Nelson, on reconnoitering the position of the French, had the choice of the point of attack, and he decided on an evolution never before hazarded by any commander, and which could only, perhaps, have been justified by his certainty of the coolness of the veteran officers of his fleet, and of the intrepidity and undaunted courage of his sailors, habituated to victory. The French fleet was drawn up along the margin of deep water in the Bay of Aboukir, and moored as close as possible to the shoals; he, notwithstanding, supposed that a channel must have been left between the ships and the shore; and that wherever the French could swing the English could float.



The sun was now declining, and as darkness would prevent the possibility of carrying the experiment he meditated into effect, he determined on an instantaneous and decisive attack, by piercing the line, and, after surrounding some of the ships, to capture or destroy the whole squadron.

Admiral Nelson's account of this victory is remarkable for its conciseness and modesty; but, as this is an event which threatened to be by far the most adverse that had yet occurred in the Life of our Hero, we shall give the particulars of it, as they are stated by his intimate friend, Admiral Ganteaume.

*Rear-admiral GANTEAUME to General BRUIX, Minister of the Marine and of the Colonies.*

Alexandria, August 23, 1798.

CITIZEN MINISTER,

"Obliged to give you an account of the most fatal of disasters, it is with piercing and heartfelt sorrow that I acquit myself of this melancholy part of my duty.

"Eleven sail of the line taken, burnt, and lost for France! our best officers killed or wounded! the coasts of our new colony laid open to the invasion of the enemy! such are the dreadful results of an engagement, which took place on the night of the 1st instant, between our fleet and that of the English, under the command of Admiral Nelson.

"From the experience which you have had, Citizen Minister, in our ports, during the course of this war, it will, doubtless, be easy for you to judge, whether the crews of a fleet so hastily fitted out as ours could be reasonably expected to be well composed; and whether we could hope to find, amongst men collected at random as it were, almost at the very instant of our departure, able mariners, and skilful and experienced cannoneers? The favourable season, however, the care and attention of the officers, and, perhaps, a certain portion of good luck, seconded the pro-

gress of the fleet so effectually, that, together with its convoy, it reached the coast of Egypt without any accident whatever.

“The Admiral has, most assuredly, informed you, that, on our arrival at Alexandria, we learned that an English squadron, of fourteen sail, had been there three days before us. It would have been the most prudent step, perhaps, to have quitted the coast the moment the descent had been effected; but the Admiral, who waited for the orders of the Commander in Chief (whose army naturally derived a great degree of confidence from the presence of the squadron) did not think himself justified in quitting the coast; but took, on the contrary, a strong position in the anchoring ground of Bequiers. This road, by its proximity to Rosetta, enabled him to receive on board the necessary supplies for the fleet, and to replace, though with infinite risks and pains, some part of the water that was daily consumed on board: it was, therefore, unfortunately, determined to moor the fleet in one line, in an open situation, and which could not be protected from the shore.

“Fatal intelligence, received from time to time, by neutral vessels, announced the return of the enemy’s squadron; it had been seen off the Isle of Candia steering to the West. The conduct of this fleet, which, though superior to ours, had not waited for us before Alexandria, but made sail to the West while we were effecting our disembarkation, which it might easily have thwarted or prevented, unhappily confirmed us in the opinion that it had no orders to attack us, and produced a boundless and fatal security.

“On the 21st of July, however, two of the enemy’s frigates reconnoitred us, and, on the 31st, about two in the afternoon, their whole fleet hove in sight; it was composed of fourteen sail of the line and two brigs\*; the wind was Northerly and rather fresh. They bore down with a press of sail on our fleet, and clearly announced a design to attack us.

\* This is a mistake, the *Leander* carried only fifty guns and the *Gazette* does not mention any brigs.

“ The measures which the Admiral took on this occasion, the resolution to engage at anchor, and the results of this horrible affair, are detailed in the Abstract, which I have subjoined to the present Letter ; in that I have delineated every circumstance as it appeared to me on this too grievous and too dreadful night.

“ The L'Orient took fire : it was by an accident, which I cannot yet comprehend, that I escaped from the midst of the flames, and was taken into a yawl that was lying under the ship's counter. Not being able to reach the vessel of General Villeneuve I made for this place, from whence I have now the mortification of transmitting you these melancholy details.

“ The Franklin, the Spartiate, the Tonnant, the Peuple Soverain, and the Conquérant, are taken : they got their topmasts up and sailed with the enemy's squadron, which quitted the coast on the 18th of August, leaving here a small division of four ships of the line and two frigates.

“ The Mercure, the Heureux, and the Guerrier, have been burnt by the enemy ; the two first ran aground during the action, and were bulged when they took possession of them.

“ The Timoleon, incapable of making her escape, was run on shore by Captain Trulet, who set her on fire, after putting all the crew either into his own boats or into those which were sent him from the rest of the fleet.

“ The two frigates, the Artemsie and the Serieuse, were destroyed, in spite of the enemy's endeavours to preserve them ; the first was burnt and the other sunk.

“ The sole relics, then, of this unfortunate armament are comprised in the division of frigates, corvets, and flutes, which are now at Alexandria, and in that of General Villeneuve, who, by a bold manœuvre, made his escape from the enemy. You will see, by my Abstract, that this latter division is composed of two ships of the line and two frigates ; the Guillaume Tell, the Genereux, the Diane, and the Justice.

“ Placed by my rank at the head of that part of our unfortunate armament which remains here, Admiral Nelson proposed to me to receive the wounded and other prisoners. In concert with General Kleber, Commandant of the town, I have acquiesced in his proposition; and three thousand one hundred prisoners, of whom about eight hundred are wounded, have been put on shore since the 6th of August. By means of this correspondence we have collected some information respecting our personal losses. My pen trembles in my hand, while, in conformity to my duty, I attempt to particularise our misfortunes.

“ The Admiral, the Chiefs of Division, Casa-Bianca, Thevenard, and Du-Petit Thouars, are killed, and six other superior officers dangerously wounded. I have not yet been able to procure an exact list of the privates killed and wounded, on account of Admiral Nelson's refusing to send me the commissaries of the captured vessels, with their *roles-d'équipage*.

“ Since the action the enemy's cruisers are masters of the whole coast, and interrupt all our communications: the other day they captured the *Fortune*, a corvet, which the Admiral had sent to cruise off Damietta. The English squadron, as I had the honour of mentioning to you above, sailed (it is said) for Sicily on the 18th instant: the division which is stationed here consists of four seventy-fours and two frigates.

“ On account of the extraordinary care which the English always take to conceal their loss of men, we have been able to procure no information on the subject that can be relied on. We are assured, however, that Admiral Nelson is dangerously wounded in the head, and that two captains are killed. We are also told that two of their ships, the *Majestic* and the *Bellerophon*, had each one hundred and fifty men killed and wounded.

“ In the situation in which we are, blocked up by a very superior force, I am still ignorant, Citizen Minister, what measures we shall pursue with the feeble maritime resources

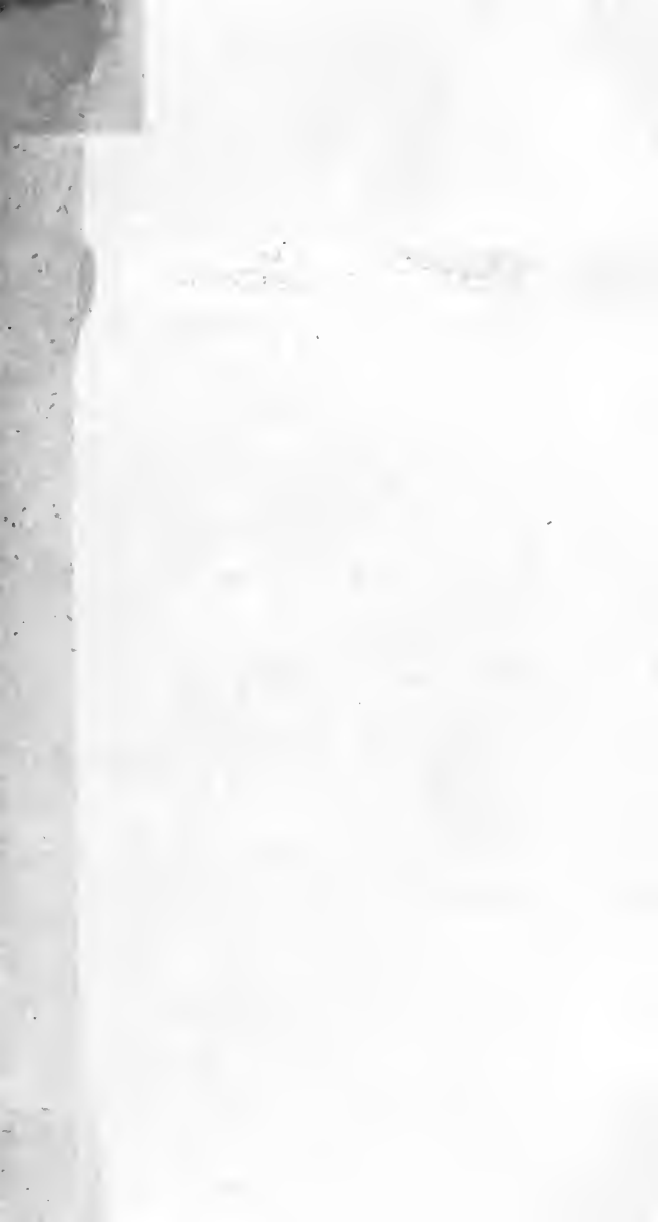
that yet remain to us in this port : but, if I must speak the truth, such as it really appears to me ; I then say, that, after so dreadful a disaster, I conceive nothing but a Peace can consolidate the establishment of our new colony. May our Governors procure us a solid and honourable one !

I am, with respect,

GANTEAUME.

END OF VOL. II.





XC  
02  
245  
1.2

**THE LIBRARY**  
**UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA**  
Santa Barbara

**THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE  
STAMPED BELOW.**

--	--



UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



**AA** 000 168 672 4

